

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER, 1823.

Art. I. 1. *An Account of some recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphic Literature and Egyptian Antiquities*, including the Author's Original Alphabet as extended by Mr. Champollion, with a Translation of five unpublished Greek and Egyptian Manuscripts. By Thomas Young, M.D. F.R.S. &c. 8vo. pp. xvi, 160. Price 7s. 6d. London. 1823.

2. *Lettre à M. Dacier, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, relative à l'Alphabet des Hiéroglyphes phonétiques employés par les Egyptiens pour inscrire sur leurs Monumens les Titres, les Noms, et les Surnoms des Souverains Grecs et Romains. Par M. Champollion le Jeune. A Paris. Chez. Didot. 1822.

THIS is the age of discovery. The French are beginning to sonnetize in hieroglyphics. Dr. Young has discovered the marks of the feminine termination, and M. Champollion can read the ancient Egyptian inscriptions as fast as Count Forbin can drink champaign. M. Biot has proved that the Zodiac of Denderah may have been constructed a hundred and thirty nine years after the Christian era, and M. Fourier is as mad as a March hare. So then, the chronology of the Bible may be correct, and we need indulge the less anxiety respecting the possible results of the researches of French savans and English Quarterly Reviewers into the mysteries of Hieroglyphic literature, from which, no doubt, we may eventually hope to learn

“How the world looked when it was fresh and young,
And the great Deluge still had left it green.”

We cannot, however, compliment Dr. Young on his having added much to our stock of information by the volume before us. He entitles it an “Account of some recent Discoveries;” but, throughout the preface, the nine chapters, and the two appendices, into which the volume is distributed, we have been unable to discover any thing that had not previously been

given to the public in one form or other, either by himself or by his Egyptian co-adjutors, except a few proper names in the Enchorial character, the Greek text of the papyrus of Mr. Grey, and that of Anastasy and Böckh: His reasons for 'presuming' to appear again before the public in any other capacity than 'that of a practical physician,' are, first, his having discovered the Greek MS. brought from Thebes by Mr. Grey, to be the translation of a hieroglyphical papyrus lately purchased by the King of France; and secondly, M. Champollion's *not* having 'very fully' enumerated all his obligations to his predecessor in hieroglyphic studies—Dr. Young. With a commendable jealousy, not so much for his own fame as for the honour of the British nation, he has done violence to his own modesty and to 'professional decorum,' in thus stepping forward to vindicate his prior claims as an Egyptian antiquary—'desirous,' he says,

'of securing at least for my country, what is justly considered as a desirable acquisition to every country, the reputation of having enlarged the boundaries of human knowledge, and of having contributed to extend the dominion of the mind of man over time, and space, and neglect, and obscurity. *Corona in sacris certaminibus non victori datur, sed patria ab eo coronari pronuntiatur.*'

It may be information not unacceptable to some of our readers, that all the recent commotion in the learned world about Egyptian literature, has been occasioned by a huge block of black stone which was found by the French in digging for the foundations of Fort St. Julien near Rosetta, and which is now in the British Museum. One side of this stone bears an inscription which has been called trilingual, but which ought rather to be termed triliteral; for it is only in two languages, (the ancient Egyptian and the Greek,) although it is in three distinct characters, the Hieroglyphic, the Enchorial, and the Greek. The whole of the inscription is imperfect, parts of the stone having been broken off and lost. The upper part, which is in the hieroglyphic character, has suffered the most: it consists of only fourteen lines. That in the Enchorial character is the most perfect, and occupies thirty-two lines. The Greek consists of fifty-four lines. The first line of hieroglyphics answers to the fifteenth in the Enchorial character, and to the twenty-seventh in the Greek. This difference in the number of lines, arises not so much from the different power of the respective characters, so that one can be made to express more ideas in a given compass, as from the mode in which they are written. The hieroglyphic lines are very broad, one occupying fully as much in breadth as three lines of Greek. This is necessary on account of the

variously sized characters, some of which are large, and occupy the whole breadth of the line, while others are much smaller; and these are placed one above the other, two or three in breadth, as if we were to write ^m instead of *man*. The Enchorial letters generally follow each^a other, but, in some instances, are ranged above each other, as in the hieroglyphic lines. In the Greek, the words of course are written in the usual mode, and consequently occupy a greater number of lines. No sooner had this lithic biglot arrived in this country, than philologists from all parts hived upon it. The Society of Antiquaries, with laudable zeal, caused the three-fold inscription to be engraved, and copies were very generally circulated. Literati in different countries exercised their utmost ingenuity upon the mystic characters. M. Silvestre de Sacy first attempted that in the Enchorial character, and sent a conjectural translation of it to M. Chaptal, then Minister of the Interior. He was followed by M. Akerblad, a gentleman residing at Paris in a diplomatic capacity, who, in a letter to M. de Sacy, endeavoured to reduce all the letters in the Enchorial inscription to an alphabet arranged according to the order of the Coptic. He took for his model, the method pursued by Barthelemy in his attempt to discover the Palmyrenian Alphabet, which was, to find out first the proper names, and then, to ascertain the letters which they had in common. M. de Sacy had discovered the names of Ptolemy and Alexander: to these M. Akerblad was enabled to add those of Arsinoe, Berenice, Philinus, Pyrrha, &c.; and having corrected several of his Correspondent's mistakes, he framed an alphabet of thirty-one letters and three numerals. In accomplishing this, he derived great assistance from his knowledge of the Coptic language, which he studied in the Coptic Bible, Liturgy, Homilies, Martyrology, and Church Songs, with the help of La Croze's Coptic Dictionary. But he confesses that he found great difficulty in recognising the identity of the Coptic and the Egyptian words; and Dr. Young says, that the number which he could identify, scarcely amounts to one in ten. Within the space of from four to five hundred years, which elapsed between the date of this inscription and that of the oldest Coptic books extant, the language appears to have undergone a much greater change than was produced in the languages of Greece and Italy by the lapse of two thousand years. This will at once shew the great difficulties with which its expounders have to contend, and the uncertain basis on which many of their interpretations must rest. First, they do not understand the character. Next, if this difficulty were surmounted, they

do not understand the language it is employed to express. And granting that an unknown language might be deciphered, yet, where there exist no means of correction, as in the present case, the most expert and accomplished decipherer must be liable to frequent mistake; or rather, the utmost that he can attain, will be an approximation to the meaning,—a probable guess. We may further remark, that although the idiographic hieroglyphics, or direct representations of the object, would be the same in all languages, yet, when they came to be used *phonetically*, they would differ as widely as the languages themselves. The word man, for instance, means, in English, the same that the word *homme* does in French; and its idiographic hieroglyphic would be the same in both languages; but the phonetic hieroglyphics in each, would necessarily be different. Thus, the M. in man, might be represented by a mouse, a marmot, a monkey, or any idiographic hieroglyphic the initial sound of which answered to the M. In the same manner, H. in the French word *homme*, would be represented, in phonetic hieroglyphics, by an owl (*hibou*), a swallow (*hirondelle*), or any other idiographic sign whose initial letter was H. And so on throughout the letters respectively composing the words man and homme. Hence, when these idiographic hieroglyphics came to be written hieratically, and enchorially or demotically, they would necessarily have a quite different power in different languages; and thus, the alphabets of the several countries would vary, not arbitrarily or accidentally, but owing to the letters being formed from phonetic hieroglyphics altogether dissimilar. We should like to instance this by a comparison of the hieroglyphics of Babylon, (where Greek sovereigns also reigned, and many names might be expected to occur in common,) with those of Egypt, written in phonetic hieroglyphics.

The Greek part of the inscription presented also serious difficulties, arising from the numerous blemishes and defalcations in the stone; but the greater part of these were surmounted by the profound learning and ingenuity of Professors Porson and Heyné; and a translation of it by Mr. Gough, corrected by Porson, was published in 1809.

The hieroglyphic part of the inscription still remained untouched; and Dr. Young, we believe, was the first who ventured on this sacred ground. He had previously made himself familiar with the Coptic language, in the hope of finding an Alphabet which would enable him to read the Enchorial inscription; but this hope, he informs us, he was compelled subsequently to abandon, 'and to admit the conviction, that 'no such alphabet would ever be discovered, because it had

‘ never been in existence.’ In the progress of this investigation, however, he discovered a multitude of characters which were obvious imitations of the hieroglyphics in the first inscription; and, in one of his letters to M. de Sacy, he expresses himself as led to entertain more hope of being able to interpret the old Egyptian manuscripts by means of the hieroglyphics, than the hieroglyphics by them. He gave a conjectural translation of the Enchorial inscription in the xviiiith volume of the *Archæologia*. In the volume before us, he thus sums up the facts that he has ascertained.

‘ A cursory examination of the few well identified characters, amounting to about 90 or 100, which the hieroglyphical inscription, in its mutilated state, had enabled me to ascertain, was however sufficient to prove, first, that many simple objects were represented, as might naturally be supposed, by their actual delineations; secondly, that many other objects, represented graphically, were used in a figurative sense only, while a great number of the symbols, in frequent use, could be considered as the pictures of no existing objects whatever; thirdly, that, in order to express a plurality of objects, a dual was denoted by a repetition of the character, but that three characters of the same kind, following each other, implied an indefinite plurality, which was likewise more compendiously represented by means of three lines or bars attached to a single character; fourthly, that definite numbers were expressed by dashes for units, and arches, either round or square, for tens; fifthly, that all hieroglyphical inscriptions were read from front to rear, as the objects naturally follow each other; sixthly, that proper names were included by the oval ring, or border, or *cartouche*, of the sacred characters, and often between two fragments of a similar border in the running hand; and, seventhly, that the name of Ptolemy alone existed on this pillar, having only been completely identified by the assistance of the analysis of the enchorial inscription. And, as far as I have ever heard or read, *not one* of these particulars had ever been established and placed on record, by *any other person*, dead or alive.’ pp. 13, 14.

‘ Dead or alive !’ Excellently said, most learned Doctor! *Vir gregis ipse caper*. What figure of speech is this? To what class belong the ancient translators of hieroglyphics, or the writers of this same Rosetta inscription? But this is not the whole of the literary property to which the Doctor lays claim, and which he is anxious to have legally secured to himself, against the rival pretensions of all other authors ‘ dead or ‘ alive.’ After wading through a long series of complimentary acknowledgements and tedious personal details, we find him fretfully complaining that M. Champollion had not given him distinct credit for the discovery, that the oval and the semi-circle constitute the feminine termination.

‘The interpretation of the female termination,’ he says, ‘had never, I believe, been suspected by any but myself: nor had the name of a single god or goddess, out of more than five hundred that I have collected, been clearly pointed out by any person.’ p. 45.

Moreover, whereas M. Champollion acknowledges that Dr. Young has recognised the phonetic values of four of the characters, the Dr. states, that, ‘instead of four letters which ‘M. C. is pleased to allow’ him, he had actually specified *nine*, in different parts of the article Egypt in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica. What flagrant injustice, and how little short of insulting! ‘*Homo quatuor literarum.*’ May we be permitted to submit to our much injured Author’s attention, a precept from another Roman poet?

‘Ut jam nunc dicat, jam nunc debentia dici.’

When a man feels that he is injured in his literary reputation, he has a right to complain; but let him, in that case, manfully close with his antagonist, administer, if he can, a hearty castigation, or bring the aggressor to justice, and have done with it. It is ludicrous to see a man fretted to the heart, and whimpering page after page, because the ‘chronology’ of his researches has not been more distinctly stated by a foreign rival, or because he has not had full credit allowed him for this and for that. We must further take the liberty of telling Dr. Young, that, though he occasionally communicates some valuable facts, yet, they are mixed up with so much wordy speculation, the reader is so long in arriving at them, and they are often so obscurely enunciated, that he ought not to be surprised at finding himself despoiled of some portion of the credit which he considers as his due. We can honestly assure the learned Doctor, that we would not injure him in his literary property, to the amount of the smallest cobweb in his library. But were we called upon to enumerate his discoveries in Egyptian literature, we could not point out in what part of his own immortal works (and, so far as we know, we have read them all) they are to be found. For example, where shall we find the ninety or one hundred hieroglyphic characters which he says he has ascertained in the Rosetta inscription, alluded to in the extract cited from page 13? Or the five hundred gods and goddesses mentioned at p. 45? Or the nine letters mentioned at p. 47? In Appendix II. to the present volume, we have two hundred and two specimens of hieroglyphics: but where are the rest? Or do these form part of the discoveries alluded to? He has divided the fourteen lines of the hieroglyphic inscription into a certain number of sections, each

comprising a given number of hieroglyphic characters ; but he no where tells his readers what principle led him to make such divisions, nor does he give the Coptic word that answers to each of them. He has inserted a Latin (why not English ?) word or words under each of these sections ; but he ought to have inserted the Coptic also, and disclosed the process by which he was led to the discovery, as M. Akerblad has done with regard to that by which he was led to ascertain so many letters in the Enchorial inscription. His readers would then have had it in their power to judge of the accuracy of his deductions. When it is recollected, that the French savans are reported to have mistaken goats' heads for cherubim, and to have represented black legs by blue pantaloons and red edging ; and that an English consul-general is said to have given forty piastres (about 1*l.* sterling) for the stone bowl of a tobacco pipe as an antique, because it bore a few hieroglyphics cut on it by a cunning Frenchman, and to have exhibited it as a proof that the ancients smoked tobacco, because neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus affirms that they did not ; it will not appear a very unreasonable or uncandid suspicion, that our most learned Egyptian may possibly have committed some mistakes scarcely less palpable. His withholding from the public the principle of his operations, seems, at all events, like shrinking from the test of criticism ; and his having given the name of Psammis to the tomb discovered by Belzoni at Thebes, when Herodotus informs us that that monarch, with all his dynasty, was buried at Sais, shews at least that his conjectures are not always to be depended upon. When he again favours us with any learned lucubrations, should professional decorum and his extensive medical practice admit of his again appearing before the public in the capacity of an Egyptian antiquary, we shall hope to find a few more facts and discoveries, with somewhat less of prosing, and complimenting, and wrangling, and self gratulation, —more of the subject, and less of Dr. Young. Clear thinking or good writing we do not expect from him. The Marquis de Sy justly remarked long ago, ' Chiffrer, caculer, soustraire, et diviser, n'est pas bien écrire.'

We now come to the work of M. Champollion. This ingenious gentleman, who has employed ten years in the assiduous study of Egyptian literature, has already submitted to the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, one memoir on the Egyptian mode of writing called *hieratic* or sacerdotal ; and a second on the *demotic* or popular. His present Letter relates to the hieroglyphic alphabet employed by the Egyptians in inscribing on their monuments the titles, names, and surnames of the Greek and Roman sovereigns ; which hierogly-

phics he terms *phonetic*; i. e. possessed of the power of expressing sounds. It may not be improper to remind our readers, that, according to Herodotus*, the Egyptians had two sorts of *grammata*, or modes of writing; the ἱερα γραμματα and the δημοτικα γραμματα, both of which were written from right to left. Porphyry and Clemens Alexandrinus state, that they had three modes of writing; the Epistolographic, the Hieroglyphic, and the Symbolic. Abinuphius says, that they had four modes of writing; one used by the people and private individuals; a second used by the philosophers and savans; the third, a mixture of letters and symbols or pictures; the fourth, that used by the priests. Warburton adopts the opinion that the Egyptians had four modes of writing; the Hieroglyphic, which he subdivides into the Cyriologic and the Tropic; the Symbolic, which also he distinguishes as of two kinds, one simple and tropic, the other mysterious and allegorical; the epistolographic, adapted for common affairs; and the hierogrammatic, consecrated to religion. We deem it unnecessary in this place to wind through a labyrinth of learned discussions, in order to ascertain the respective merits or demerits of each of these modes of classification. Herodotus (who, notwithstanding Dr. Young's sarcastic remark about the pride of the Greeks and their want of philological talent, was probably as well informed on the subject as any one of the learned men whose names we have mentioned, from the Alexandrian Father down to Dr. Young) classes the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and the symbolic modes under the first general description—ἱερα γραμματα; the common, epistolographic, and enchorial under the second—δημοτικα. The French have called the second *cursive*, and the English, *running-hand*. We consider M. Champollion, therefore, as perfectly right in adopting the term employed by Herodotus, (in preference to Enchorial, the term used in reference to the Rosetta inscription,) as the title for his Alphabet, under which to include all the varieties occurring in the common manuscripts of the ancient Egyptians.

Our Author observed that, in this demotic character, foreign names were expressed phonetically by means of signs which were syllabic, rather than alphabetic. From a comparison of several of these proper names, (twenty are given in his plate,) he ascertained the value of each character, and thus formed his alphabet or demotic syllabus. Having once established the use of phonetic characters in the demotic writing, which he had shewn to have been borrowed from the hieratic, which

* Lib. II. c. 36.

again was merely a *tachygraphy* or running-hand of the hieroglyphic, he drew the reasonable conclusion, that this last mode, the hieroglyphic itself, must also possess a certain number of phonetic signs; that is, that there existed a certain series of phonetic hieroglyphics. To prove this, it was requisite only to obtain two ancient names, which contained several letters in common. In consequence of fractures, the hieroglyphics of the Rosetta inscription furnished him only the name of Ptolemy. The obelisk of Philoe gave him the same name expressed in the same characters, and also the name of Cleopatra, both enclosed within an oval ring, or, as he terms it, a cartouche, and possessing several characters in common. The names were originally ascertained by means of the accompanying Greek inscription; and a comparison of them furnished him with eleven consonants and vowels or diphthongs of the Greek Alphabet; viz. Α, ΑΙ, Ε, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ο, Π, Ρ, Σ, Τ. The phonetic value of these signs was further proved by their application to other cartouches containing proper names taken from Egyptian monuments. Thus, one of the proper names on the Temple of Karnak in Thebes, was found, in the Description de l'Égypte, to answer to Alexander. This furnished him with one new character, Ν, and a new form of Κ and Σ. Having proved the value of these Letters, he read, as he informs us, (p. 10.) ΑΑΚΣΕΝΤΡΕ; which is thus written, letter for letter, in the demotic writing of the Rosetta inscription, and in the papyrus in the King's Cabinet at Paris, and, in both, answers to the Greek name, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ. He found that the form of the Κ and the Τ were different, in this proper name, from what they had in Kleopatra. For this he accounts in the following very natural and satisfactory manner. The phonetic writing among the ancient Egyptians, whether hieroglyphic or demotic, was not so fixed and invariable a system as our alphabet. The Egyptian hieroglyphic mode of writing was idiographic; that is, it consisted of actual representations or symbols of the objects to be expressed. But, whenever the Egyptians had occasion to use these characters phonetically, they then lost their idiographic power, and no longer denoted the objects of which they were the picture or actual representation, but merely the initial sounds of the words that expressed those objects. Thus, if any person wished to write the word *Barrow*, he might draw a hog, or the species of carriage so named. Either of these would be a specimen of idiographic writing, and perfectly significant of the object intended. But, if he wished to write the same word in phonetic symbols, he would draw, first of all, a great boar, which would stand simply for the initial Β;

next, an ape for the A ; then, two rams for the double R ; then an owl for the O ; and last, a weasel for the final W. All these heterogeneous symbols united would make BARROW in phonetic hieroglyphics, none of them being idiographic or significant of the object which they pictured, but signifying merely the initial sound of the name of the object. But the idiographic sign of any object, the name of which began with the same initial, might stand for B ; as, for instance, Bee, Bat, Badger, Bull, instead of Boar ; and so of the other letters. And the substitution of one phonetic sign for another, or the employing of different signs of the same power, would occasion no difficulty to any person acquainted with the language, the character, and the subject. The number of phonetic signs for the same alphabetic character might thus be indefinitely numerous ; and it would be impossible to predict in any given case, the idiographic sign which the writer would select for phonetic use. Hence, the necessity of being acquainted with the object represented, in order to understand the hieroglyphic or idiographic sign, and the further necessity of a previous acquaintance with the language, so as to know the *name* of the object, in order to understand its phonetic power. But, though all the idiographic signs were originally significant of the object, they ceased to be so when employed phonetically ; and he who first reduced all the phonetic signs into an alphabet of twenty-four or twenty-five letters, did more to facilitate the means of recording and extending human knowledge, than all that has since been done in the way of perfecting the medium of thought. The demotic writing furnishes ample proof that this improvement was not effected at once, but was progressive ; for, in the writing of foreign names, whenever different phonetic signs are used, the demotic signs, or letters, are also different, being imperfect imitations of them ; which shews that the hieroglyphic was the original mode of writing, and that it fell by degrees into the hieratic, the demotic, and at length, the alphabetical*.

* Professor Murray, in his very learned but somewhat fanciful history of languages, has thrown considerable light on the hieroglyphic origin of the Phenician, Hebrew, and Chaldee alphabets, by shewing that the names of the letters are taken from the objects of which they were originally the idiographic signs. Thus, we are told, Alph signified an ox ; Beth, a house ; Gaml, a camel ; Dalth, a door ; Waw, a hook ; Capl, the grasp of the hand ; Lamb, a sharp instrument, a spit ; Samch, a support ; Ain or Gain, an eye ; Resh, a summit, a head ; Shin, a tooth. Hitherto, the Egyptian alphabet has not ex-

M. Champollion shews, in a number of instances, that the initial sound of the idiographic character answers exactly to the phonetic name. Thus, a hawk, one of the phonetics of A, is, in Egyptian, Halœt ; the vault or kind of arch which is one of the phonetics of K, is, in Egyptian, Kepe ; the Lion, one of the phonetics of L, is Laboi ; the mouth, the phonetic of R, is Ro ; the semi-circle, Dr. Young's favourite symbol, one of the phonetics of T, is, in Egyptian, Ti or Tori, the open hand. Thus he proceeds to form a hieroglyphic alphabet comprising eleven forms of Alpha, five of Beta, two Gammas, two Deltas, one Epsilon, no Zeta, nine Etas, no Theta, five Iotas, sixteen Kappas, (two of which are the same with Gamma,) four A's, five M's, seven N's, two Ξ's, (which are merely the sign of K, placed over that of S,) six Omicrons, three Pi's, eleven R's, fifteen Sigmas, four Tau's (two the same as Δ) no Upsilon, two Φ's (the same with Π) no Ψ, no X, and two Omegas, the same with O. These are all accompanied with corresponding demotic signs ; but the differing forms of each letter are not by any means so numerous, the utmost variety being five, the generality having but two forms ; and the variation is often so trifling as hardly to require a separate notation.

Our ingenious Author, with that zeal which accompanies and ensures success, proceeded to examine the cartouches enclosing the proper names inscribed on the different monuments of Egypt. He has given three plates, containing seventy-nine of these in hieroglyphics, adding, in an explanatory table, the letters which each of them contain in Greek capitals ; so that any person may with very little trouble make himself master of the Author's whole Alphabet, and read any Greek or Roman name that he encounters on these monuments. On the great temple at Karnak in Thebes, he found inscribed the name of Ptolemy, written Ptolmes, the letters arranged $\overset{\text{N B}}{\text{ml}^{\circ}_{\text{p}}}$; and

Berenice, written Brneks, the letters arranged SKER : also, the name of Alexander, Alksntrs, the letters arranged $\overset{\text{N}}{\text{TRS}} \overset{\text{F}}{\text{S}} \overset{\text{A}}{\text{L}}$

He also finds the name of Ptolemy and Cleopatra on the temples of Philoe and Koom Ombos ; at Edfou, Ptolemy Alexander ; at Denderah, Ptolomy Neo Kesrs (the young Cæsar), meaning the Son which Julius Cæsar had by Cleopatra.

hibited any coincidence in its phonetic signs, and the presumption is against their common origin, although both would seem to have been formed, in the same manner, from idiographic hieroglyphics.

So much for the Macedonian Kings of Egypt. But he also found the names of several Roman Emperors. On what has been called the Circular Zodiac of Denderah, he finds the title AOTOKRTR, which he refers to the Emperor Claudius or Nero, because most of their medals struck in Egypt, bore the simple legend Autocrator. Hence he very justly infers, that this same circular zodiac was sculptured under the dominion of the Romans, thus at once shivering to atoms the theories of Volney and his infidel school. On the great temple of Philoe, he reads Aotokrtr Kesrs, which he refers to Augustus Cæsar, because his Greek medals struck in Egypt, bore only these two words; and he supposes the bas-reliefs to relate to the victory at Actium, which constituted a new and important era in the history of Egypt. The names Aotkrtr Tbres Kesrs (Emperor Tiberius Cæsar), and Aotkrtr Tomtens Sbts (Emperor Domitian Sebastus), are also found on the monuments of Philoe. The name of the latter emperor is more frequently found at Denderah, where it occurs with the surname affixed, Krimneks (Germanicus). The name Aotkrtr Ksrs Nro Treus (Emperor Cæsar Nero Trajan) is also found at Philoe: and Aotokrtr Ksrs Antonens (Emperor Cæsar Antoninus) is found on the Typhonium at Denderah. The reading of the hieroglyphics begins at that end of the inscription towards which the heads of the animals are turned: the demotic is always read from right to left.

The Egyptian phonetic writing is, we think, very properly considered by M. Champollion as bearing a close analogy to the ancient Phenician, Hebrew, Syriac, Cufic, Arabic, and modern Arabic, which may be called *semi-alphabetic*; presenting only the skeleton of words, the consonants and long vowels, and leaving it to the skill of the reader to supply the short ones. The Chinese, whose mode of writing bears a great affinity to that of the ancient Egyptians, adopted, under similar circumstance, the same expedient. In order to write a foreign word in their language, they employ the idiographic signs whose pronunciation appears to possess the greatest resemblance to the syllable or element of the word they wish to express. And when we recur to the hideous manner in which the names of Patterson, Richardson, &c. were caricatured in their account of the late affray at Canton, we must acknowledge that, in accommodating their idiographic signs to Greek and Roman names, the Egyptians beat the Chinese hollow. M. Champollion is further of opinion, that the phonetic use of the hieroglyphics preceded the dominion of the Greeks and the Romans in Egypt, and that the Europeans received from

the ancient Egyptians the invaluable gift of Alphabetic writing, as well as the elements of their science and arts; in which opinion he has on his side, the testimony of antiquity as recorded by Tacitus and others. But, by means of his alphabet, he has never been able to read a single word of the ancient hieroglyphics. So that as yet, the veil seems impenetrable, which covers the ancient learning of that most interesting country. M. Champollion is, indeed, still labouring to remove it, and as heartily as we thank him for the present able attempt, do we wish him success in his future researches. From his youth, learning, talents, and address, much may be expected. The pamphlet before us contains, within fewer than fifty pages, more interesting matter on the subject of hieroglyphics, than is to be found in all the books we have seen. We warmly recommend it to every lover of learning, and especially to every traveller directing his course to the country of whose literature it treats. We learn with much pleasure that the same ingenious gentleman has turned his researches to the arrow-headed character. Dr. Young states, that M. Champollion informs him, that he has lately discovered the name of Xerxes, both in hieroglyphics and in the nail-headed characters, on an alabaster vase on which both are found together. Hitherto, he had been unable to detect a Persian name, or any inscription or relic relating to the Oriental conquerors of Egypt.

‘ This is, indeed,’ remarks Dr. Y., ‘ a wonderful opening for literary enterprise; and I am even inclined to hope, from M. Champollion’s latest communications, that he will find some means of overcoming the difficulties that I have stated respecting the Pharaohs; for he assures me, that he has identified the names of no less (fewer) than *thirty* of them, and that they accord with the traditions of Manetho, and, as far as he can judge, with the notes that I had sent him of an attempt that I had formerly made to assign temporary names to the Kings enumerated at Abydos, in which those of all the later ones began with the syllable RE.’ p. 53.

We should exceedingly like that M. C. should have an opportunity of following up his researches by comparing the arrow-headed character with the hieroglyphics in Babylon, Suza, and other seats of ancient learning. The present Hebrew character is said to be Chaldaic; yet, so far as we know, not a single inscription in that character has been discovered among the ruins in Mesopotamia. By Hager and Lichtenstein, indeed, the arrow-headed characters are conjectured to be variations of the Hebrew alphabet; but the subject forms at present one of the darkest enigmas of antiquity.

Art. II. 1. *Memoirs of General Count Rapp, first Aide-de-Camp to Napoleon.* Written by Himself, and published by his Family. 8vo. pp. 431. Price 12s. London. 1823.

2. *Memorial de Sainte Hélène.* Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Helena. By the Count de Las Cases. 8vo. Vol. IV. Parts 7 and 8. pp. 652. London. 1823.

THE spirit of modern institutions is invincibly adverse to power without title, to empire without claim; and yet, we have seen, in the instance of Napoleon, the old system revived of enthroning the emperor on the shields of his soldiers, and confirming his elevation by the suffrage of the people. And never was a sceptre thus illegitimately obtained, held with a surer grasp, until one act of rashness, followed by a series of false measures, wrested it from his hand, and restored it to the forgotten line of Bourbon. With a few years of peace, the generation of 1789 would have passed away, and their bigotry, their intolerance, their admiration of despotic forms and privileged orders would have perished with them. But this tame and obvious course was at total variance with the gigantic schemes, the military partialities, and the untemporizing policy of Napoleon. His first false step was the invasion of Spain; his second, the march on Moscow; his third, the campaign of Germany; his last, the obstinate determination, in defiance of all counsel, to rest the decision of his fate on the arbitrament of the sword, when, without a single ally, and with a mere handful of devoted soldiers, he was assailed by the tremendous coalition of the European powers.

Of the brilliant campaign which, under the last mentioned circumstances, he fought against Schwartzemberg and Blucher, as well as of the subsequent events, we gave a general outline in our recent review of Baron Fain's interesting volume. We shall now have an opportunity of supplying some interesting illustrations of previous transactions, from the *Memoirs of Count Rapp*; and we shall avail ourselves of this favourable occasion to take a final adieu of our pleasant but rather tiresome companion, M. de Las Cases.

General Count Rapp was a native of Alsace, and seems to have had in his composition much more of the German than of the Gaul. He was brave to rashness, and frank to an imprudent extreme. Warm-hearted, but irritable and petulant, his habits were singularly unsuited to the etiquette of courts, and made him an unusual object for the partiality of monarchs. Yet, we find him a sort of favourite with Napoleon; his indiscretions and blunt speeches were tolerated, and his violations

of decorum were visited with no heavier punishment than temporary displeasure. Rapp was nothing more than a subaltern in the French army, though he had been successful in several daring enterprises, when he was distinguished and promoted by General Desaix, who made him his aide-de-camp. In Egypt, he was made *chef d'escadre* after the battle of Sediman, and his brilliant conduct in the affair of Samanhout obtained for him the rank of colonel. After the death of Desaix, Rapp was placed by the First Consul on the list of his personal aides-de-camp.

‘ Zeal, frankness, and some degree of military talent, procured for me the confidence of Napoleon. He frequently remarked to those about him, that few possessed a greater share of natural good sense and discernment than Rapp. These praises were repeated to me, and I must confess I was flattered by them: if this be weakness, I may be excused; every one has some foible. I would have sacrificed my life, to prove my gratitude to the First Consul. He knew this; and he often repeated to my friends, that I was a grumbler—that I had a poor head, but a good heart. He treated both me and Lannes familiarly, using the pronoun *thou* when he spoke to us: if he addressed us by *you* or *Monsieur le General*, we became alarmed; we were sure that we were out of favour. He had the weakness to attach importance to a gossiping police system, which for the most part deceived him by false reports. That odious system of police embittered the happiness of his life; it frequently incensed him against his best friends, his relations, and even his wife.’

Rapp. pp. 4, 5.

The favour shewn by Napoleon to the old *noblesse*, gave offence to his old associates; and on one occasion, Rapp seems to have expressed himself to his Master rather intemperately on the subject. He had forgotten this circumstance when Napoleon renewed the conversation, and, in a half apologetic tone, disavowed the partiality which had been imputed to him. ‘ You think that I have a predilection for this people; but you are mistaken. I employ them, and you know why. Am I connected with nobility? I, who was a poor Corsican gentleman?’ The reply of his aide-de-camp was just what it ought to have been. ‘ Neither I nor the army have ever inquired into your origin. Your actions are sufficient for us.’ Notwithstanding this feeling of jealousy, Rapp had himself been the medium of restoration and advancement to several of these noble sycophants, most of whom repaid him with ingratitude. Their character is impressively described in the following paragraph.

‘ Most of these same nobles, however, allege that they had yielded

only to compulsion. Nothing can be more false. I know of only two who received Chamberlains' appointments unsolicited. Some few declined advantageous offers; but, with these exceptions, all solicited, entreated, and importuned. There was a competition of zeal and devotedness altogether unexampled. The meanest employment, the humblest offices, nothing was rejected; it seemed to be an affair of life and death. Should a treacherous hand ever find its way into the portfolios of MM. Talleyrand, Montesquieu, Segur, Duroc, &c. what ardent expressions may be found to enrich the language of attachment. But the individuals who held this language, now vie with each other in giving vent to hatred and invective. If they really felt for Napoleon the profound hatred which they now evince, it must be confessed that, in crouching at his feet for fifteen years, they did strange violence to their feelings. And yet, all Europe can bear witness, that, from their unrestrained manner, their never-varying smile, and their supple marks of obedience, their services seemed to be of their own free choice, and to cost them but little sacrifice.'

Rapp. pp. 6, 7.

The Count affirms of the Emperor, that his character and habits were 'perfectly gentle,' and that those measures of his administration which were the least defensible, were urged upon him by the malignity of individuals who possessed his confidence, and abused it. Artful and interested men were always at hand to applaud his anger, and to give it edge.

'Many persons have described Napoleon as a violent, harsh, and passionate man; this is because they have not known him. Absorbed as he was in important business, opposed in his views, and impeded in his plans, it was certainly natural that he should sometimes evince impatience and inequality of temper. His natural kindness and generosity soon subdued his irritation; but it must be observed that, far from seeking to appease him, his confidants never failed to excite his anger. "Your Majesty is right," they would say, "such a one deserves to be shot or broken, dismissed or disgraced; I have long known him to be your enemy. An example must be made; it is necessary for the maintenance of tranquility."

* * * * *

'Never was there a man more inclined to indulgence, or more ready to listen to the voice of humanity: of this I could mention a thousand examples; but I confine myself to the following. Georges and his accomplices had been condemned. Josephine interceded for M. M. Polignac, and Murat for M. de Rivièrre, and both succeeded in their mediation. On the day of execution, the banker Scherer hastened to Saint Cloud, bathed in tears, and asked to speak with me. He begged of me to solicit the pardon of his brother-in-law, M. de Russillon, an old Swiss Major, who had been implicated in the affair. He was accompanied by some of his countrymen, all relatives of the prisoner. They observed that they were conscious the major merited his sentence; but that he was the father of a family, and that he was

allied to the most distinguished houses in the Canton of Bern. I yielded to their entreaties, and I had no reason to regret having done so.

'It was seven in the morning. Napoleon was up, and in his closet with Corvisart, when I was announced. "Sire," said I, "it is not long since your Majesty settled the government of Switzerland by your mediation. But you know that the people are not all equally satisfied; the inhabitants of Bern in particular. You have now an opportunity of proving to them your magnanimity and generosity. One of their countrymen is to be executed this day. He is connected with the best families in the country; if you grant his pardon, it will certainly produce a great sensation, and procure you many friends."—"Who is this man? What is his name?" inquired Napoleon.—"Russillon," I replied. On hearing this name, he became angry.—"Russillon," said he, "is more guilty than Georges himself."—"I am fully aware of all that your Majesty now does me the honour to tell me; but the people of Switzerland, his family, his children will bless you. Pardon him, not on his own account, but for the sake of the many brave men who have suffered for his folly." "Hark ye," said he, turning to Corvisart, while he took the petition from my hand, approved it, and hastily returned it to me; "immediately despatch a courier to suspend the execution." The joy of the family may be easily guessed: to me they testified their gratitude through the medium of the public papers. Russillon was imprisoned along with his accomplices; but he afterwards obtained his liberty. Since the return of the king he has several times visited Paris, though I have not seen him. He thinks that I attached but little importance to the act of service I rendered him; and he is right.'

Rapp. pp. 8—11.

Napoleon was warmly attached to his family and his friends, and was liberal in the reward of service. Count Rapp states of himself, that he returned from Egypt with a colonel's commission and two hundred louis, the savings of former years: at the time of the abdication, he possessed an income of 400,000 francs, arising from his various appointments. 'A thousand others were in like manner overwhelmed with favours, and the injury which he suffered through the misconduct of some, proved no bar to the exercise of his kindness.' Of his readiness to forgive, we find, among other examples, a striking illustration in the kindness with which he passed over an instance of gross indiscretion on the part of General Rapp. The Generals Regnier and Damas were in disgrace, and Rapp, who was intimate with both of them, employed his utmost exertions in their favour. He was one day urging his suit in behalf of Regnier, when the Emperor, growing impatient, replied that 'he wished to hear no more about him.' In the letter which was written to inform his

friend of his want of success, Rapp indulged himself in some very improper reflections on the conduct of his sovereign, and the correspondence having been intercepted, it came into the hands of Napoleon.

‘He read it over three or four times, ordered some of my writing to be brought to him for the purpose of comparing it, and could scarcely persuade himself that I had written it. He flew into a violent rage, and despatched a courier from Saint Cloud to the Tuileries where I was lodged. I thought I was summoned for a mission, and set out immediately. I found Caulincourt in the saloon of the household with Caforelli, and I asked him what was the news. He had heard the whole affair; he seemed much vexed by it; but he said not a word about it to me. I entered the apartments of Napoleon, who came out of his closet, with the letter in his hand, in a furious rage. He darted upon me those angry glances which so often excited dismay. “Do you know this writing?” said he.—“Yes, Sire.”—“It is yours?”—“Yes, Sire.”—“You are the last person I should have suspected of this. Is it possible that you can hold such language to my enemies? You, whom I have treated so well! You, for whom I have done so much! You, the only one of all my aides-de-camp, whom I lodged in the Tuileries!” The door of his closet was ajar; he observed this, and he threw it wide open, in order that M. Menneval, one of the secretaries, might hear what passed, “Begone,” said he, scanning me from head to foot, “begone, you are an ungrateful man!”—“Sire,” I replied, “my heart was never guilty of ingratitude.”—“Read this letter,” said he, presenting it to me, “and judge whether I accuse you wrongfully.”—“Sire, of all the reproaches you can heap upon me, this is the most severe. Having lost your confidence, I can no longer serve you.”—“Yes, you have indeed forfeited my confidence.” I bowed respectfully, and withdrew.

‘I resolved to retire to Alsace, and I was making preparations for my departure, when Josephine sent to desire me to return and make my best apologies to Napoleon. Louis, however, gave me contrary advice, and I was not much inclined to obey the directions of the Empress, as my resolution was formed. Two days elapsed, and I heard no news from Saint Cloud. Some friends, among whom was Marshal Bessieres, called on me. “You are in the wrong,” said the Marshal, “you cannot but acknowledge it. The respect and gratitude you owe to the Emperor render it a duty to confess your fault.” I yielded to these suggestions. No sooner had Napoleon received my letter, than he desired me to attend him in one of his rides on horseback. He was out of humour with me for some time, but one day he sent for me very early at Saint Cloud. “I am no longer angry with you,” said he, with exceeding kindness of manner; “you were guilty of a great piece of folly, but it is all over—I have forgotten it. It is my wish that you should marry.” He mentioned two young ladies, either of whom, he said, would suit me. My marriage was brought about; but unfortunately it did not prove a happy one.’

Rapp. pp. 14-17.

To the absurd imputation of want of personal bravery, which some individuals have amused themselves with endeavouring to fix on Napoleon, his aide-de-camp replies, that 'the man who, from the rank of lieutenant of artillery, rose to be the ruler of a nation like France, could not be deficient in courage;' and refers to well known circumstances as proofs of his firmness and self-possession in the midst of danger. After the explosion of the 'infernial machine,' when Rapp entered the theatre in attendance on Josephine, he found the Consul calmly eyeing the audience through his opera-glass. 'The rascals,' said he coolly, 'wanted to blow me up. Bring me a book of the Oratorio.' The following anecdotes will shew that Napoleon could take a joke even when the point of it happened to gall himself.

'Madame Bachioci one day brought to the Tuileries her relation M. d'A****. She retired after introducing him to the saloon of the household, and he was left alone with me. This M. d'A****, like many of his countrymen, had a very unprepossessing countenance. I was distrustful of him, but, nevertheless, I informed the Emperor he was waiting, and he was introduced. He had doubtless something important to communicate. Napoleon, by a motion of his hand, directed me to return to the saloon. I pretended not to observe him, and I remained, for I was apprehensive for his safety. He advanced towards me, and said that they wished to be alone. I then withdrew, but I left the door of the chamber partly open.

'When Napoleon had dismissed M. d'A****, he asked me why I had been so reluctant to withdraw. "You know," replied I, "that I am not officious; but I must frankly confess that I do not like your Corsicans." He himself related this anecdote, which displeased some of the individuals of his family. However, I am persuaded that he would rather not have heard me speak of his countrymen in this way.

'One evening, after the battle of Wagram, we were playing at *vingt-et-un*. Napoleon was very fond of this game: he used to try to deceive those he was playing with, and was much amused at the tricks he played. He had a great quantity of gold spread out upon the table before him. "Rapp," said he, "are not the Germans very fond of these little Napoleons?"—"Yes, Sire, they like them much better than the great one."—"That, I suppose," said he, "is what you call German frankness." Rapp. pp. 24-6.

Rapp was with the French army in the campaign of Ulm and Austerlitz, and contributed effectually, by his daring valour at a menacing crisis, to the defeat of the Russians in the desperate battle fought at the last-mentioned place. Our readers may have seen the engraving from Gerard's picture painted by order of Napoleon, representing the Count, wounded and with his sabre broken, galloping up to report his success to the Em-

peror. The subsequent war with Prussia, and the victories of Jena and Auerstadt, are briefly and not very distinctly described. In the midst of the confusion, Rapp was not idle. Warrior, diplomatist, secretary, and gen-d'arme, he acquitted himself like a man of universal dexterity, and what was better still, lost no opportunity of interfering in behalf of the unfortunate. He was an urgent intercessor with Napoleon in behalf of the Prince of Hatzfeld and the Duke of Saxe Weimar, and his active kindness was gratefully acknowledged by those noblemen. He speaks in the highest terms of the invariable humanity, gallantry, and honourable conduct of Berthier, Duroc, and Caulincourt. In the mean time, the strong fortresses of the Elbe and the Oder surrendered without defence, and at length, the French army crossed the Vistula to attack the Russians. In Rapp's early campaigns under Custine, Pichegru, Moreau, and Desaix, he had been four times wounded; in Egypt, three times; at Austerlitz he had not escaped, and his arm was broken at the battle of Pultusk.

"I was removed to Warsaw. Napoleon arrived there on the 1st of January, and he did me the honour to come and see me. "Well, Rapp," said he, "you are wounded again; and on your unlucky arm too." It was the ninth wound which I had received on my left arm, and the Emperor therefore called it my unlucky arm.—"No wonder, Sire," said I, "we are always amidst battles." "We shall perhaps have done fighting," he replied, "when we are eighty years old."

"MM. Boyer and Yvan dressed my wound in his presence. When Napoleon saw that the bone was really broken, he said, "His arm must be amputated. He is now very ill; and this wound may be his death." M. Boyer smiled and said, "Your Majesty would go too hastily to work; the General is young and vigorous; we shall cure him." "I hope," said I, "this is not the last time you will have occasion to make me suffer martyrdom." *Rapp.* pp. 129, 30.

On the surrender of Dantzic, Rapp was appointed governor. When the fourth Austrian war broke out, he joined the army, and distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Aspern; but an unfortunate accident, by which his shoulder was dislocated, and three of his ribs were broken, prevented him from being present at the decisive conflict of Wagram. One day, during the negotiations consequent on that victory, he was soliciting from Napoleon, the promotion of two officers.

"I will not make so many promotions," said he; "Berthier has already made me do too much in that way." Then turning to Lauriston; "Lauriston," said he, "we did not go on so fast in our time; did we? I continued for many years in the rank of Lieutenant!"—"That may be, Sire, but you have since made up famously for your lost time."—He laughed at my repartee, and my request was granted.

Rapp. p. 140.

On the marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa, Rapp failed in some point of etiquette, and was sent off to his government by way of honourable punishment. He describes himself as constantly standing between the Dantzickers and the oppressive visitations of the Emperor's fiscal exactions; and he frankly avows that he connived at the violations of the blockading decrees which were daily occurring on that part of the coast. He represents all this as gratuitous policy and beneficence; he has, however, the repute of having acted from mercenary motives, and we have no means of deciding on the truth or falsehood of the imputation. At length, the preparations for the grand Russian campaign rendered Dantzic a place of the utmost importance, and Napoleon, with his generals, visited that fortress on their route to Königsberg. The tenor of the following conversation will shew, how little the new enterprise met with the approbation of the Emperor's principal officers.

' In the evening I had again the honour of supping with Napoleon, the King of Naples, and the Prince de Neufchatel. Napoleon maintained silence for a long time; at length he suddenly asked, how far it was from Dantzic to Cadiz. "Too far, Sire," I replied. "Ah! I understand you, General," said he, "but we shall be further off a few months hence." "So much the worse," I added. The King of Naples and the Prince de Neufchatel did not speak a word. "I see, gentlemen," said Napoleon, "that you do not wish for war. The King of Naples does not like to leave his beautiful kingdom, Berthier wishes to hunt at Gros Bois, and General Rapp longs to be back to his superb hotel in Paris." "I must confess," I observed, "Sire, that your Majesty has not spoiled me; I know very little of the pleasures of the capital." Murat and Berthier continued to observe profound silence: they seemed to be piqued at something. After dinner they told me that I had done right to speak as I did to Napoleon. "But," replied I, "you should not have allowed me to speak alone." *Rapp. p. 167.*

Rapp attended the Emperor in his advance through Poland, and across the Boristhenes, and took a conspicuous part in the fierce and sanguinary battle of Borodino. On the night previous to the engagement, he slept in Napoleon's tent.

' The part where he slept was generally separated by a partition of cloth from that which was reserved for the aide-de-camp in attendance. The Emperor slept very little: I waked him several times to give him in reports and accounts from the advanced posts, which all proved to him that the Russians expected to be attacked. At three in the morning, he called a valet de chambre, and made him bring some punch; I had the honour of taking some with him. He asked me if I had slept well; I answered that the nights were already cold, that I had often been awaked. He said, "We shall have an affair

to-day with this famous Kutusow. You recollect, no doubt, that it was he who commanded at Braunau, in the campaign of Austerlitz. He remained three weeks in that place, without leaving his chamber once. He did not even get on horseback to see the fortifications. General Bonigsen, though as old, is a more vigorous fellow than he. I do not know why Alexander has not sent this Hanoverian to replace Barclay." He took a glass of punch, read some reports, and added, "Well, Rapp, do you think that we shall manage our concerns properly to-day?"—"There is not the least doubt of it, Sire; we have exhausted all our resources; we are obliged to conquer." Napoleon continued his discourse, and replied: "Fortune is a liberal mistress; I have often said so, and begin to experience it."—"Your Majesty recollects that you did me the honour to tell me at Smolensko, that the glass was full, that it must be drunk off."—"It is at present the case more than ever: there is no time to lose. The army moreover knows its situation: it knows that it can only find provisions at Moscow, and that it has not more than thirty leagues to go. This poor army is much reduced, but what remains of it is good; my guard besides remains untouched." He sent for Prince Berthier, and transacted business till half-past five.—*Rapp*. pp. 201—203.

Severely wounded in the fight, Rapp took up his quarters in Moscow, but was speedily driven from his residence by the conflagration, and compelled to take shelter in a house near the barriers. After the disastrous retreat from that ancient metropolis of Russia, he took the command of the garrison of Dantzic, and was, almost immediately, invested by the Russians. Under the greatest privations, and with their ranks daily thinned by disease, the troops under his orders made a gallant defence against superior numbers; nor was the place surrendered until every resource had been exhausted. The general and his soldiers remained prisoners till the abdication of Napoleon. On his return to France, he found the scene strangely altered. 'The army and the anti-chambers' were 'invaded by the emigrants.' Men who had been indebted to him for promotion, had lost all recollection of his person; one even who had served under him at Dantzic, laboured under the same unhappy lapse of memory. Another change of scene took place, and Rapp again greeted his old master at the Tuileries. The conversation which took place between the Emperor and his former aide-de-camp is too long for citation; it terminated in the appointment of the Count to the command of the army of the Rhine. Some severe but indecisive fighting took place, and, finding his corps too feeble to resist the numbers which were pressing on him in all directions, he fell back on Strasburg, where his regiments mutinied for want of pay. After a temporary retirement to Switzerland, the General returned to Paris, and was restored to favour. He became a

member of the House of Peers. But his health had been destroyed by the effects of his wounds and privations, and a life of incessant fatigue and agitation, was closed by a tranquil death.

The Count de Las Cases has occupied so much of our attention in former Numbers, that we can afford him but little of it now. Of the two parts which are given to the world as the *finale* of his Journal, one is entirely occupied with the detail of his own movements after his expulsion from St. Helena, and the other contains but little that is new or piquant. The health of Napoleon had been much affected by the climate, and by the circumstances of his imprisonment, and he began to exhibit the first symptoms of the malady which ultimately terminated his life. His mental powers were, however, unimpaired, and he bore up with characteristic energy under the pressure of disease. He spoke of his plans with enthusiasm, and, we suspect, with much of that unconscious exaggeration with which all men are apt to review the operations of their own minds. Many of his observations are, however, mere repetitions of what had been given before; and we really think that all the important novelty in the present *livraison*, might have been fairly included in a score of pages, the place for which would have been the close of the volume immediately preceding. The only passage that we feel inclined to extract, occurs in the report of a conversation, in the course of which Napoleon had expressed himself strongly in censure of Lord Castlereagh. In general, he avoided all mention of the Duke of Wellington; but, on this occasion, he spoke without reserve.

“ Lord C—— is artful enough to support himself entirely on Lord W—— (whom the Emperor now found was included among the members of the English Ministry). W—— has become his creature! Can it be possible that the modern Marlborough has linked himself in the train of a C——, and yoked his victories to the turpitude of a political mountebank? It is inconceivable! Can W—— endure such a thought? Has not his mind risen to a level with his success?”

“ I have been told,” said he, “ that it is through W—— that I am here; and I believe it. It is conduct well worthy of him, who, in defiance of a solemn capitulation, suffered Ney to perish;—Ney, with whom he had so often been engaged on the field of battle! For my own part, it is very certain I gave him a terrible quarter of an hour. This usually constitutes a claim on noble minds; his was incapable of feeling it. My fall, and the lot that might have been reserved for me, afforded him the opportunity of reaping higher glory than he has gained by all his victories. But he did not understand this. Well, at any rate he ought to be heartily grateful to old Blücher: had it not been for him, I know not where *his grace* might

have been to-day ; but I know that I at least should not have been at St. Helena. W——'s troops were admirable, but his plans were despicable ; or I should rather say that he formed none at all. He had placed himself in a situation, in which it was impossible he could form any ; and, by a curious chance, this very circumstance saved him. If he could have commenced a retreat, he must infallibly have been lost. He certainly remained master of the field of battle ; but was his success the result of his skill ? He has reaped the fruit of a brilliant victory ; but did his genius prepare it for him ? His glory is wholly negative. His faults were enormous. He, the European Generalissimo, in whose hands so many interests were entrusted, and having before him an enemy so prompt and daring as myself, left his forces dispersed about, and slumbered in a capital until he was surprised."

"No," continued he, "W—— possesses only a special kind of talent : Berthier also had his ! In this he perhaps excels. But he has no ingenuity ; fortune has done more for him than he has done for her. How different from Marlborough, of whom he seems to consider himself as the rival and equal. Marlborough, while he gained battles, ruled cabinets, and guided statesmen. As for W——, he has only shewn himself capable of following the views and plans of C——. Madame de Stael said of him, that when out of the field of battle, he had not two ideas. The saloons of Paris, so distinguished for delicacy and correctness of taste, at once decided that Madame de Stael was in the right ; and the French Plenipotentiary at Vienna confirmed that opinion. His victories, their result, and their influence, will rise in history ; but his name will fall, even during his life-time."

Las Cases. Part VII. pp. 221—224.

The principal event, however, which occurs in these pages, is the arrest of the Count de Las Cases by the order of Sir Hudson Lowe, with the avowed intention of separating him from Napoleon, and sending him off the Island. About the middle of November 1816, Sir H. had deprived the Count of the services of a mulatto who had long waited upon him at Longwood. A few days after his dismissal, the man contrived to visit his old master, by passing the sentinels in the night. He volunteered to convey despatches to Europe, and Las Cases entrusted him with a letter, written on satin, to Lucien Bonaparte. Within twenty-four hours after this, the Count was arrested by the orders of Sir Hudson, and placed in confinement on a charge of clandestine correspondence founded on this circumstance. Sir Hudson expressly denied that any snare had been laid by him ; but he did not explain the precise nature of the transaction. However this might be, he obtained no information of importance from the seizure and inspection of papers, and proposed to restore Las Cases to his situation at Longwood. For reasons which we are unable to comprehend, this offer was declined ; and we are left to adopt one of

two inferences:—the first, that the Count was tired of restriction, and glad to obtain emancipation; the other, that he had made a previous arrangement with Napoleon, which made it expedient for him to visit Europe with as little delay as possible. If the last was his intention, it was disappointed by a long detention at the Cape of Good Hope, where he was allowed to occupy Lord Charles Somerset's country residence. At length, he sailed for Europe; and after various adventures, he appears now to be comfortably settled in his native land, preparing a new edition of his "Atlas."

Art. III. *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs, discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily.* By the Rev. John James Blunt, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and late one of the Travelling Bachelors of that University. 8vo. pp. xvi, 294. Price 9s. 6d. London. 1823.

A more instructive and interesting subject of investigation can scarcely be proposed, than that which occupies the pages of the work before us. The coincidence of ancient and modern customs, is something more than a dry antiquarian topic. It enters largely into those speculations concerning human nature, which constitute the true philosophy of history, and without which, history is an amusement for an idle hour, rather than the school of experience. He who is solicitous to imbibe the real spirit of history, and to derive the most profitable lessons from the study, will attentively scrutinize, not only the broad lines of demarcation which separate the great portions of mankind, but those traits which are discernible in the people of the same country at the same or at different periods. To illustrate the influences of climate or locality upon national manners, it will be necessary to trace in the same people, at distant eras, those features of character, those moral lineaments which remain unchanged by the stupendous changes that conquests, invasions, and the various vicissitudes of states and empires, have wrought upon the face of the globe.

No where is this more strikingly illustrated, than in the manners and pursuits of the ancient and the modern Romans. There are vestiges, indeed, of the ancient, in the modern manners of that country,—many more perhaps than the learned industry of Mr. Blunt has enabled him to collect. But, although the two pictures present innumerable analogies, the contrasts are happily more numerous still. The ancient Romans, to use the philosophic words of Tacitus, were *propriam et synceram et tantum sui similem gentem*. It was a state of society to which the

history of man scarcely furnishes a parallel; a state in which, from the rankness of the moral soil, or some mysterious principle of social vegetation, all that is severe in virtue or dignified in wisdom, grew up by the side of all that is relaxed in manners, vicious in taste, or perverted in feeling,—the gentlest and most sacred of affections being darkened and over-shadowed by the most detestable vices. In the still more downward periods of their history, when even those contrasts ceased, and all was crime and sensuality, there arose a contrast even in their vices. At one time, we are sickened at the whining delicacy of Lesbias weeping their extinct sparrows; at another, disgusted by whole crowds of Lesbias witnessing with delight the bloody amusements of the circus, and calmly dooming the vanquished gladiator to death, by bending their delicate thumbs, the signal for his destruction. Among a people almost enslaved by sumptuary laws, a single female carried about her person, jewels equal in value to the capital of the richest jeweller in London.* Boars roasted entire for a Roman supper, present an image of savage voracity which carries the imagination to the banks of the Oronooko; while the same table exhibited dishes consisting of the brains of nightingales, and the tongues of peacocks, and a *rôti* of singing birds, recommended to the pampered palate only by the beauty of their plumage and the melody of their song. The Roman beau, who bathed for five hours every day, and was anointed from head to foot with aromatics and unguents, had not so much as a handkerchief for his nose, while he carried suspended from his neck, a cloth for the purpose of wiping away a secretion which has no name in polished society. To a table groaning beneath massive vessels of plate, every guest brought his own napkin, into which he openly thrust a portion of the supper, to send to his family. At the most hospitable feasts of Rome, sat parasites† invited for the express purpose of repaying the liberality of the host with the grossest adulation, while they sustained at his hands indignities which only the most brutal insolence could offer, or the most stupid servility endure.

‘To have imbibed the liberal and elegant arts,’ remarks Horace, ‘humanizes the manners, and prevents mankind from being barbarians.’ Yet, how poor a comment upon the aphorism is to be found in the best days of Roman refinement! Never were the elegant studies cultivated more generally. The senses and the intellect drank delight from the fairest models of art,

* Arbuthnot computes the jewels worn by Lollia Paulina at the sum of £332,916, 13s. 6d.

† Hor. Epist. l. i. 18.

and the sublimest products of genius. Every street, every house presented forms of ideal beauty, so infinitely multiplied, that the expression of Cassiodorus, who said, that the statues of the ancient city nearly equalled the numbers of its inhabitants, is scarcely an exaggeration. The lyric, the epic, the comic muse by turns ministered to enchant the soul. But, beneath this florid and gaudy bloom, lurked a moral taint of deadliest poison. Vices at which nature recoils, were not merely tolerated, but made the theme of poetry and of wit. Christianity has effected much, even among the people who have most disfigured and debased her. In no country, has it been more strongly proved, how little the refinements of a polished age are calculated to quicken the real progression of nations to happiness and virtue.

Mr. Blunt has confined his inquiries to Italy and Sicily. His dissertation would have been more complete, had he also travelled into Greece, and collected the strong resemblances of the religious rites and social habitudes that prevail among the modern inhabitants of that territory, to those which prevailed among their Grecian progenitors. The present state of that nation, and the awful conflict in which they are engaged, render the subject, at this moment, peculiarly interesting. Although we can allow ourselves to notice a few analogies only, we cannot abstain from the attempt to point out a few of the most striking correspondences between ancient and modern Greece: we should be happy if our imperfect hints should invite some scholar like Mr. Blunt to complete them by personal observation. For such a task, how well qualified was Villoison! He explored Greece and Turkey with this intent, and much are the circumstances to be lamented, which interrupted his researches. The prolegomena to his Homer contains, we believe, all that remains of his investigations.

A mythology so fanciful and splendid as that of Greece, must have had, from the very constitution of our imperfect nature, a strong hold upon its inhabitants. The exterior worship addressed itself to their ardent imaginations. The pomp of their festivals, their sacrificial processions, flattered and nourished their natural fondness for show and decoration. Every art was consecrated to the service of their divinities. The sacerdotal character, from the earliest ages, was honoured with peculiar respect and obeisance. At length the Gospel beamed upon them; but it was not long before the purity of primitive Christianity was stained by the mixture of ancient rites, and its simple truths interpolated with heathen fiction. When the political extension of the Church became the main object of its rulers, it was deemed expedient to flatter the existing prejudices of the multitude, and Christian churches were built on sites already

hallowed in their eyes by the temples of their former worship. Chrysostom and others of the Christian fathers frequently lamented the inveteracy of the Grecian customs; and the superstitious character of the ancient Greek has been fully transmitted to his descendants. The feelings of a modern Greek are never, perhaps, in a state of so high excitation as at mass. The Greek is, in this respect, distinguished from the more negligent and formal Latin. A church or a sacred fountain in Greece almost invariably points out the site of an ancient temple; and those who have navigated the Archipelago, have frequently noticed the little white chapels upon the *πρωτες ακραι* (the high promontories) of that coast. At sight of these, the mariner devoutly crosses himself, and offers up his prayers with the punctilious exactness of the sailor who formerly invoked the

‘*Dii maris et terræ tempestatumque potentes,*’

from the prow of the *Argo*.

Among the most classical superstitions of modern Greece, may be ranked the *agiasmata* or holy fountains. Of these, the usual characteristics are, a romantic landscape and the neighbourhood of a cavern or a grove. To these fountains, they repair at certain festivals in crowds, to invoke the saint (the *genius loci*), and there they disburthen the joyousness and gayety of their hearts in songs and dances. The sick are brought there to drink the waters, and those whom the saint has vouchsafed to heal, never neglect to affix a strip of linen (the *votiva tabella*) in gratitude for the favour. The description, in the *Odyssey*, of the fountain *Arethusa*, would convey an accurate account of a modern *agiasma*. No business is undertaken, no voyage begun, without an offering at the shrine of a favourite saint. No Athenian ever leaves the *Piræus* without presenting a taper to *San Spiridion*, whose monastery occupies the site of the *Diana Mynychia*, and receives the offerings formerly made to that goddess. The manners of the *Iliad* may be distinctly traced in the violent feasting which accompanies many of the ceremonies of modern Greece. It is not unusual to see a crowd roasting two hundred sheep in the open air. On the first of May, every door at Athens is crowned with a garland. Boccacio and Dryden have judiciously chosen this festival at Athens for the scene of the exquisite fable of *Palamon and Arcite*. A similar garland is suspended from the prow of a ship, when it is first launched.

‘*Puppibus et læti nautæ imposuere coronas.*’

Virg. *Georg.* l. i. 382.

The master of the ship first raises the cup of wine to his lips as he stands on the deck, and then pours it on the ground.

Might we not trace to this classical custom, the ceremony practised among ourselves on similar occasions? The ceremonies of marriage, their dances, their games, their feasts, their funerals, would present similar analogies.

The intimate and visible union which the forms of religion maintain with all the events of private life in the countries visited by Mr. Blunt, renders it a conspicuous topic in his treatise. Dr. Middleton had indeed gone over the same ground before him, for the express purpose of shewing, that the corruptions of the Roman Church were derived from Pagan ceremonies. But the celebrated "Letter from Rome" left a plentiful gleanings to those who might come after him; especially, possessed as we now are of sources of information not open to that vigorous writer, in the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Mr. Blunt's object, however, is classical illustration; and he deprecates being supposed guilty of the intention to write a polemical essay.

'I feel,' he says in his preface, 'the more desirous that this should be clearly understood, because otherwise it might be supposed that I am about to renew the warfare against the church of Rome, which Dr. Middleton waged so vigorously in his celebrated 'Letter.' My present aim is perfectly distinct from his. I mean no attack upon that church; and if I were to attack it, I should do so on more general, and, as I conceive, stronger grounds. I have lived much amongst its members, and have experienced from them many personal civilities. That their faith is erroneous, of course I believe; but I believe that the faith of him who would oppose it with uncharitable bitterness and invective, is no less so. In tracing, however, the vestiges of a classical age which still exist in Italy and Sicily, it is impossible not frequently to refer to the rites and ceremonies of paganism, or to avoid remarking the close connexion which they often have with those at present in use. Many such customs are innocent in themselves, and therefore may be retained by the church of Italy without censure. Some few are more than innocent, they are meritorious, and therefore may be retained with praise. But others, it must be confessed, and those no small class either, are unquestionably superstitious and idolatrous, and therefore ought to be abolished. Of this the *enlightened* Romanist himself is no less conscious than those who hold the reformed faith; for he cannot defend, nor do I think he would be desirous of attempting it, the gross abuses which fraud or credulity or inveterate custom has engrafted upon the fundamental tenets of his church. Many of these abuses, however, it was necessary to introduce in order to complete my picture; nor had I any reason for passing over unnoticed, objects which are familiar to all who travel through Italy. Where I have discovered then any points of conformity between the religion of ancient and modern Rome, I have fearlessly mentioned them, as I would mention any points of conformity between the houses or streets; neither have I denied myself the full liberty of expressing my own

opinion upon their character and propriety. Thus much for the religious portion of my essay. pp. ix—xii.

This, we must take the liberty of remarking, is a rather strange avowal to proceed from a Protestant clergyman. But "evil communications corrupt good manners." To what 'innocent' and 'meritorious' customs of the Church of Italy, our Author alludes, we should have been quite at a loss to conjecture, had he not instanced, in another place, the keeping open the churches during many hours every day, as 'a custom admirably calculated to preserve alive an attention to religious duties, and a spirit of devotion among mankind, and which cannot but be acceptable to that Being who unfolds not the gates of the heavenly temple for limited periods, but all the day long stretches out his hand to a disobedient and gainsaying people.' Of course, our Author will imitate this laudable example, and keep open the church doors in his parish, as a means of preserving alive a spirit of devotion among his parishioners. But seriously, when it is considered for what purpose the churches of Italy are kept open—not for religious instruction, not for social worship, but for idolatrous rites borrowed from heathenism, and for the gains of a corrupt and apocryphal priesthood, Mr. Blunt is guilty of something worse than forgetfulness, in representing such a custom as assuredly acceptable to the Divine Being.

The endless superstitions and overflowing polytheism of the ancient Romans advanced in the usual progress of erroneous belief. Fear, hope, the passions and infirmities of man, multiplied the objects of worship. The blight of a crop, or a plentiful harvest, the common phenomena of the winds and the waves, war and famine, perpetually increased the divinities of their pantheon. Even a fever and a cough were subjects of apotheosis. To these delusions, the craft of man contributed. Every shrine had its priest; and, as the priests were maintained by the oblations of the altar, their avarice was deeply pledged to cherish and uphold the superstition.

'It is lamentable,' says our Traveller, 'to observe in how many particulars this picture is true of modern Italy and Sicily; where, in spite of that knowledge of the one and only God which revelation has communicated, the same tendency to polytheism (for the worship of saints has all the character of that creed in practice, however ingeniously it may be explained), is still manifested; and where the same abuses as those which have been already enumerated, and from the same causes, abundantly prevail. On the one hand, impertinent and unworthy solicitations of divine interference; on the other, encouragement in such a practice by self-interested individuals. Priests ill paid, and hordes of friars, mendicants by profession, have been tempted to

lay under heavy contribution the credulity of the public ; and accordingly we find most cathedrals, as well as nearly all the chapels of the regular clergy, possessed of images or relics said to be endowed with miraculous virtues, while a box is at hand to receive the offerings of those who, out of gratitude for the past, or hope for the future, are disposed to give their mite for the good of the church. I have seen the poor fishermen at Catania regularly greeted on their arrival at the coast with the produce of their day's toil, by the craving voice of a Capuchin or Franciscan ; nor has that been refused to the holy vagrant, which ordinary beggars, though wrung with distress, would have besought in vain. Indeed, few persons are so poor as to escape subscribing their quota towards filling the satchels of these men, or so fearless of the consequent anger of Heaven as to risk a denial.

‘ The general effects of this unhappy system have been, to degrade the worship of the Deity—to swell the calendar with saints—to extend the influence of charms—to instigate pilgrimages—to clothe the altars with votive tablets—and to give currency to numbers of miracles which have not a shadow of testimony to their truth. In short, it has made the countries of Italy and Sicily what they are, emblems of the churches in them, replete themselves with beauty, yet serving as vast magazines for objects calculated to excite the devotion of the superstitious, the pity of the wise and good, and the scoffs of the profane.’

pp. 4—6.

Mr. Blunt proceeds to a fertile subject, that of the Saints, and traces the various circumstances which undeniably demonstrate the close affinity of tutelar saints to the gods of old Rome. The multitude of saints and their reputed lives furnish strong resemblances to the ancient deities. A striking parallel is also to be found in the supernatural powers with which the saints of the Italians and the gods of the Romans have been respectively endowed. The several ways in which the figures of both have been employed, ‘ as Lares, Dii Tutelares, charms, and the like,’ furnish another remarkable coincidence.

‘ The first division of Lares,’ says Mr. Blunt, ‘ of which I shall speak, consists of those that were fixed in the public streets, particularly in situations where several ways meet, and where the conflux of the populace was consequently greater. These were called Viales or Compitales, and the festival observed in honour of them, Ludi Compitalicii. I think it not unlikely that the Priapus in the principal street at Pompeii, of which so much has been said, was one of these Lares Viales. By a decree of Augustus they were annually adorned with spring and summer flowers. (*Sueton. Aug. 31.*) In the towns of Italy and Sicily, then, there are at this moment few streets which cannot display at least one Madonna, situated also in general, after the ancient manner, at their points of intersection, entitled therefore to the name of Compitalis, and commonly decorated with garlands and bouquets. I recollect having seen in Sicily a few withered ears of corn placed in the hand and wreathed round the brow of a Madonna

Vialis ; a trifling circumstance in itself, but such as could not fail, at all events in that island, to suggest that such were the legitimate ornaments of the goddess who once held there undisputed empire :

‘ Tum demum vultumque Ceres animumque reponit,
Imposuitque suæ spicea sarta comæ. Ovid. Fast. iv. 616.

‘ With this was Ceres cheer’d and comforted,
And put a corn-ear’d garland on her head.’

Gower's Translation.

‘ Around these objects of reverence little groups of persons daily assemble to sing their vespers ; and for a month before Christmas, peasants, principally from Calabria, come trooping into the towns with their pipes, on which they play gratuitously a simple air before every Madonna Compitalis, and regale those also within doors for a few baiochs, which the piety of the poorest housekeeper urges him to spend :

‘ Ante Deum matrem cornu Tibicen adunco
Cum canit, exiguae quis stipis æra neget ?

Ovid. Ep. i. l. 11.

‘ When to the mighty Mother pipes the swain,
Grudge not a trifle for his pious strain.’

‘ I am thus circumstantial, because from the passage which I have just quoted, as well as from numberless others, it is perfectly known that the Romans used to sing to the images of their gods, and that the Tibia was more especially consecrated to their service. (Vid. Ovid. Fast. vi. 652.)

‘ A word with respect to these pipes. They are of two kinds ; the one of a very simple construction, in shape resembling our flageolet, with six holes, but without keys ; in short, neither more nor less than the old Tibia, as it is preserved in many antique pieces of sculpture. The other is a somewhat more complex instrument. It consists of a tube through which the musician inflates a goat-skin that he holds under his left arm. Two pipes of unequal length (Tibiæ impares) communicate with this skin by a single mouth ; the shorter serving for a drone or continued bass, and admitting, I think, only one variety of modulation ; the longer having three or four apertures. This rustic performer probably differs little from the Utricularius of the ancients.’

pp. 21—24.

The mixture of sacred and profane images in the early ages of the Church, marks the transition of the ancient, into the present practice. St. Augustine mentions a woman who offered adorations and incense to Jesus and Paul, and Homer and Pythagoras ; and Alexander Severus is reported to have reckoned among his household gods, Apollonius and Christ, and Abraham and Orpheus. Ships were under the peculiar protection of the Dii Tutelares. Horace puts them into his catalogue of the ship's furniture. In his celebrated illustration of the dissensions of the state by the metaphor of a ship in distress, the vessel is de-

scribed as not only having lost her mast, her sails, her oars, but the gods too, who might have been invoked in distress, had been washed away. In fact, 'they formed an established part of a Roman ship.' Vessels also took their names from those deities. The boat in Catullus is dedicated to Castor and Pollux; and St. Paul sailed from Melite in a ship "whose sign" was Castor and Pollux." In Modern Italy, the names of ships are almost invariably sacred.

'At Messina or Naples may be seen the *Swift*, the *Dart*, the *Enterprise*, or the *Wellington*, from Liverpool, lying beside the *Santa Elizabeta*, the *Santa Maria della Providenza*, the *Santissimo Core di Jesu*, &c. with corresponding figures conspicuous on the prow. At the same time in the cabins of these latter will be found a Madonna or a saint in wax, wood, or paper, with a lamp suspended before it. In Sicily the smallest boat which is paddled along-shore by a fisherman or porter, would be thought not more ill-appointed without an oar, than without a guardian angel of insurance against calamity. A friend of mine who, in conjunction with some others, had hired a *sparonara* to convey them from Naples to Rome, (communication by land being at that time difficult, in consequence of the advance of the Austrian army,) was put to considerable inconvenience through one of these protectors. The head of the saint having been unfortunately knocked off by some operation in managing the boat, fell into the sea. Nothing could persuade the master to proceed till it was found; which, from the motion of the vessel, and the drifting of the head, was not soon done. Meanwhile a foul wind sprang up, which prevented them from making Ostia, till after a most tedious and troublesome delay: and indeed, it is but too frequently that the passenger has occasion to lament the blind reliance on supernatural aid, which leads an Italian crew to neglect altogether those ordinary means which the wise Governor of the World has placed within their reach; and upon the use or neglect of which he may, in his providence, have ordained their fate to depend.' pp. 32—34.

Few phenomena in the Christian world are more extraordinary than the adoration of the Virgin in all Catholic countries. Mr. Blunt ascribes it to the religion of ancient Rome, which recognised a vast variety of female deities. The religion of the New Testament, he remarks, 'afforded no stock on which this part of heathen mythology could be grafted.' But when we consider the natural disposition of nominal converts from Paganism, to mingle the rites of the religion they had quitted, with that which they had adopted, and the willingness which many of the early Christians displayed to come to an accommodation with the Pagans, in hopes that time and knowledge might purify their faith, it is not much to be wondered at, that so many of the rites paid to the old female divinities should be trans-

ferred to the Madonna. This error was probably confirmed by the title *θεοτοκος*, *Mater Dei*, which was uniformly assigned to the Virgin, until the famous Nestorian controversy brought the subject into debate. The Council of Ephesus, in 428, decided after all, that the term might be used with propriety. Now this epithet was, in Pagan times, that of Cybele, and it was inevitable that some confusion in the minds of half-enlightened persons would ensue, in consequence of such an identity. Mr. Blunt has brought together several independent facts in support of his opinion. Among which, not the least striking is, that our Lady-day, the day of the Blessed Virgin of the Roman Catholics, was heretofore dedicated to Cybele.

As Mars was once the defender of Rome, Ceres of Enna, Diana of Syracuse, so now, every Christian town in these countries has a protecting saint. Our Author traces the honours paid to St. Agatha at Catania, to the honours formerly paid in the same city to Ceres. The festival of this saint lasts many days; and the different ceremonies appropriated to each day, present many striking coincidences.

The chapter on the churches of Italy and Sicily, is an ingenious and learned exposition of many other points of resemblance. The conversion of heathen temples into churches, opened a wide door for the admission of the old superstition. In these temples, a variety of ceremonies had been practised for ages. Here was the Aquaminarium, or vessel of purifying water, at the doors; here were paintings, altars, censers, tripods, the usual furniture of a heathen temple. These, as too valuable to be destroyed, were naturally transferred. Many temples were consecrated to the same deity under different titles, as, in ancient Rome, the temple of Jupiter Custos, of Jupiter Feretrius, of Jupiter Sponsor, of Venus Calva, Venus Verticordia, Venus Cloacina, &c. &c. &c. So, in modern Rome, we find a church of Sa. Maria degli Angeli, of Sa. Maria Imperatrice, of Sa. Maria Liberatrice, of S. Pietro in Vaticano, of S. Pietro in Carcere, &c. &c. &c. Again, heathen temples were often dedicated to two divinities, as to Venus and Cupid, to Isis and Serapis, &c. So, there are now churches to Jesus and Maria, to S. Marcellinus and Peter, to Celsus and Julianus, &c. &c. Sometimes more deities, each having his separate altar, were worshipped by the Gentiles under the same roof. In St. Peter's, there is, in like manner, an altar ascribed to S. Leo, another to the Madonna della Colonna, and many more.

But a still more remarkable connexion is, in many cases, to be traced between the ancient temples and the modern churches, in the corresponding attributes of the deity and the saint. Thus, the temple of Vesta is now the church of the Madonna of the

Sun, fire being the prevailing idea in both appellations ; that of Romulus and Remus, is dedicated to the twin brothers Cosmo and Damien ; and the chapel dedicated to S. Anna Petronilla, is supposed to mark the site of the ancient games instituted in honour of Anna Perenna, the sister of Dido. Finally, in the custom of keeping open the church doors in Italy and Sicily, from dawn till noon, then closing them for about three hours, and afterwards re-opening them till sunset, Mr. Blunt points out a close resemblance to the practice of heathen times.

‘ For as all the properties and habits of men were assigned by the heathens to their gods, that of reposing at mid-day was amongst the number. Hence was it unlawful to enter the temples at that hour, lest their slumbers should be disturbed. (*Callimach. Lacaer. Pallad.* 72. *Edit. Spanhemii.*) Hence the goatherd in Theocritus ventures not to play upon his pipe at noon, from fear of awaking Pan. (*Idyll.* i. 15.) Hence too the peculiar force of the derision with which Elijah addressed the priests of Baal : “ And it came to pass, that at noon Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud, for he is a god : either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awakened.” Accordingly we read that those prophets did not despair of rousing their god, and inducing him to declare himself, till ‘ the time of evening sacrifice.’ At that hour the period allowed for repose had terminated ; and when he still continued deaf to their cries, then, and not till then, their cause became altogether hopeless.’ pp. 109—10.

A picture found at Herculaneum satisfactorily proves that the Catholic custom of boys attending upon the officiating priest, was derived from heathen times. In this painting, a boy wearing a white tunic, bears in one hand a dish with the offering, and, in the other, a wreath of flowers which the priest is about to receive and present to the god. The boy who now ministers at the altar, has the same dress and the same office, except that he supplies books and censers instead of oblations and chaplets. The mass is termed *Sacrificio della Messa*. The victim of the ancient sacrifice was called Hostia : the wafer of the mass is ostia. Mr. Blunt pursues the analogies exhibited in the performance of high mass, through a variety of details, the sprinkling of holy water, chanting, bells, &c. &c.

‘ Again, the familiarity,’ he states, ‘ with which the Romans treated the effigies of their gods is not less remarkable with respect to those of our Saviour and the saints, in the present Italians and Sicilians. I have seen them expostulate with an image in a church in a half whisper, with as much emphasis and expression as if an answer had been forthwith expected to have issued from its lips.

‘ In like manner it is recorded of Caligula, ‘ that he conversed in secret with Jupiter Capitolinus, sometimes whispering, and listening

in his turn ; sometimes audibly, and in terms of reproach : for he was overheard to threaten that he would send him about his business to Greece ; until softened by the entreaties of the god, and invited, as he declared, to an intimacy with him, he built a bridge which connected his palace with the Capitol.' (*Sueton. Calig. 22.*) It is to a custom of this kind generally prevailing in the approaches of the Romans to their gods, that so much of the second satire of Persius alludes :

' Non tu prece poscis emaci

Quæ nisi seductis nequeas committere Divis.

Haud cuivis promptum est, murmurque humilesque susurros
Tollere de templis.'

' It is not yours, with mercenary prayers,
To ask of heaven, what you would die with shame,
Unless you drew the gods aside, to name.' *Gifford.*

' And again still more explicitly :

' Hoc igitur quo tu Jovis aurem impellere tentas,
Dic agedum Stajo—Pro ! Jupiter ! o bone, clamet,
Jupiter ! at sese non clamet Jupiter ipse ?

' Good ! now move

The suit to Staius, late preferr'd to Jove :

' O Jove ! good Jove !' he cries, o'erwhelm'd with shame,
And must not Jove himself, ' O Jove ! exclaim ?'

Gifford.

' Nor is this all. When disappointed by his tutelary saints, an Italian or Sicilian will sometimes proceed so far, as to heap reproaches, curses, and even blows, on the wax, wood, or stone, which represents them. The same turbulent gusts of passion displayed themselves in the same way amongst the Romans, who scrupled not to accuse their gods of injustice, and to express their indignation against their faithless protectors by the most unequivocal signs :

' Injustos rabidis pulsare querelis

Cælicolas solamen erat.' *Stat. Sylv. v. 22.*

' To him who smarts beneath the heavenly rod,
Some comfort is it to reproach the god.'

' Upon the death of Germanicus stones were cast by the populace at the temples in Rome : the altars were overturned, and in some instances the Lares thrown into the streets. (*Sueton. Calig. 5.*) And Augustus thought proper to take his revenge upon Neptune for the loss of one of his fleets, by not allowing his image to be carried in procession at the Circensian games which followed.' pp. 123—6.

In the mendicant monks, Mr. Blunt has very ingeniously pointed out an identity, as to many distinguishing features, with the priests of Isis and Serapis. The mysteries or sacred dramas once so common in our own country, though now happily abolished, and still retained in Italy and other Catholic countries,

are the subject of an able chapter. Our Author then takes a more comprehensive view of the spirit and character observable in the worship of ancient and that of modern Italy, in order to shew the dramatic nature of each, and the anthropomorphism which distinguishes both. Among the ancient Romans, every religious conception was embodied in some corporeal form.

‘ The same observation then applies to the inhabitants of Italy and Sicily to this very day. Thus on the Wednesday in Passion-week, is sung in the Sistine chapel one of the famous ‘ Misereres.’ The low and solemn and piteous tones with which it is chanted are asserted in the ‘ Office for the Week,’ (p. 156) to be expressive of the fear which the apostles felt when our Saviour was seized by the Jews.—Meanwhile lighted tapers are successively extinguished at long intervals, till at last one only is left burning ; those which are put out indicating the base desertion of the twelve ; that which remains unquenched, the exemplary constancy of the Virgin. At the conclusion of the chant a stamping is made by the cardinals and their attendants ; this too is not without its meaning. It is declared to signify either the tumult with which the Jews sought our Saviour in the garden ; or those convulsions of nature which accompanied his crucifixion. Here is the dramatic effect of which I have spoken.

‘ On another day in the same week, the Pope performs the ceremony of washing the feet of thirteen pilgrims, who are dressed in white, and arranged along an elevated bench on the left side of the Sala Clementina. This act is, of course, intended as a lively representation of a similar office performed by our Saviour to his Apostles. But it was not meant, I conceive, that this example should be literally followed. The object of it was simply to inculcate a general spirit of humility. This was the important lesson conveyed by our Lord’s precept, “ So likewise wash ye one another’s feet.” But then no opportunity would have been afforded for the spectacle, which by the practice of the church of Rome is exhibited to the public ; and, after all, it is but an equivocal proof of humble-mindedness in a sovereign pontiff, to perform a mere ceremonious ablution of a few poor men, whilst the napkin and ewer are borne for him by cardinals of, perhaps, the proudest blood in Italy.

‘ Again, there is a remarkable service in the churches of Rome on Good Friday, called the “ Agonie.” On that occasion it is the duty of the preacher to enlarge upon the words uttered by our Saviour whilst hanging on the cross. This address occupies the three hours of the passion ; during which time curtains are drawn over the windows, to create a gloom significant of that darkness which prevailed from the sixth to the ninth hour.—In all this there is much dramatic effect.

‘ But, in fact, the ordinary mass, as it is explained in the “ *Tesoro della Devozione*,” a little book put into the hands of all the Italians that can read, and answering the purpose of our prayer-book, is a lively representation of the last scenes of our Saviour’s life and sufferings. Thus when the priest approaches the altar, Christ’s entrance into the

garden is to be understood, and to the prayer which he offers there the commencement of the mass alludes. When the priest kisses the altar, reference is made to that kiss by which our Saviour was betrayed. When he turns to the people, and repeats the "*Dominus Vobiscum*," he is representing Christ when he turned and looked upon Peter. When he washes his hands, he figures Pilate, who declared that he washed his hands of the blood of that innocent man. When he elevates the consecrated wafer, he expresses the elevation of our Saviour on the cross. When he breaks it, he displays him expiring. These are not interpretations of mine, but are every one taken from the volume I have mentioned, sanctioned and recommended by the church of Rome. Now surely all this partakes greatly of a dramatic character.' pp. 154—8

Many points of agreement between the ancient Romans and modern Italians, are to be found in the burial of the dead; a topic to which Mr. Blunt dedicates an entire chapter. But we pass on to a more interesting subject,—the agricultural customs of ancient and of modern Italy. Our classical Traveller has recorded several striking resemblances. The existence of old agricultural practices at the present day, speaks but little, indeed, for the domestic or civil improvement of the country. A great portion of the papal territory west of the Apennines, is in a state of desolation well harmonizing, says Mr. Blunt, with the withered old age of the capital. The tools of husbandry in Italy remain in a most unimproved state. Instead of our double handle, by which the plough is guided with so much precision, the single stale or '*buris*', used in the days of Virgil, is still retained. The '*binae aures*' are two strips of wood attached to the share, about eighteen inches long, diverging a little from each other, and inclined to the earth at a convenient angle for laying open the furrow.

' When the labour of the day is at an end, the plough is reversed; the share is made to catch upon the yoke of the animals that draw it, and with the end of the '*temo*' trailing along the ground, it is conveyed home. Who does not here recognise the '*versa jugo aratra*' of the Romans?

' *Tempus erat quo versa jugo referuntur aratra.*'

Ov. Fast. v. 497.

' What time the lab'ring hind from toil released,
The plough reversing, yokes it to his beast.'

' It may be here added, that after the wheat has been sown in drills, persons are almost always employed to knock the clods to pieces by hand, agreeably to the suggestions of the poet,

' *Quid dicam, jacto qui semine cominus arva
Insequitur, cumulosque ruit male pinguis arena?*'

Georg. i. 104.

‘ The seed now sown, I praise the farmer’s toil,
Who breaks and scatters the reluctant soil.’

‘ These are illustrations of the classics which, if not valuable, are at least amusing ; and I am persuaded that the best commentary upon half the Latin authors is afforded a careful observer by Italy itself.’

pp. 207, 8.

With the subject of the cultivation of the vine, a theme so interesting to the admirers of the *Georgics*, we must close our extracts from Mr. Blunt’s book.

‘ The manner of cultivating the vine in Italy, though differing from the more approved method of France, Switzerland, and Germany, is the very same as that which was in use amongst the Romans. To marry it with the maple, the elm, or the poplar, is certainly far more picturesque than to cut it down annually, and support its renovated shoots by poles of four feet long. The superiority, however, of the latter practice, with a view to the quality of the juice of the grape, is manifest from the superior excellence of the wines in the countries where it is followed ; and, indeed, the more powerful influence of the sun upon the fruit, obtained partly by its reflection from the earth upon the branches, which in this case cannot be raised much above the surface, and partly from the absence of boughs to impede its approach, could not avoid producing the most favourable consequences. The Italian, however, adheres to a usage sanctioned by his forefathers:

‘ Atque adultâ vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos.’

‘ His marriageable vines
Around the lofty bridegroom elm he twines.’ FRANCIS.

And who would not willingly compromise for a wine of somewhat inferior flavour, to enjoy the pleasure of seeing the fantastic branches of the vine twisting themselves about the arms of the trees which sustain them, and hanging in graceful festoons along successive avenues ?

‘ There is one advantage derived from this plan, and one by no means inconsiderable in a country possessing so little pasture land as Italy ; that the foliage of the trees of the vineyard supplies a quantity of green food for the cattle. Persons mount into them and pluck off the leaves when they are sufficiently expanded, into bags ; a process which has the additional merit of laying open the clusters to the sun.

‘ It was not until I observed this practice in Italy, that I understood the exact meaning of several passages in the *Eclogues* of Virgil.—That in the first, for instance,

‘ Hinc altâ sub rupe canet frondator ad auras—

Virg. Ec. i. 57.

‘ While from the neighbouring rocks, with rural songs,
The pruner’s voice the pleasing dream prolongs—

DRYDEN.

or that in the ninth,

‘ Hic, ubi densas

Agricolæ stringunt frondes—

‘ Where hinds are stripping the luxuriant leaves—

where the husbandmen are described as employed, not merely in dressing the vine itself, but in stripping off the leaves of the elm upon which it rested. In the line

‘ Semiputata tibi frondosâ vitis in ulmo est— *Ec. ii. 70.*

Half pruned thy vine, and leafy is thy elm—

I had been accustomed to think, that the reproach of neglect was conveyed in the word, ‘ semiputata,’ the plant had been left half-pruned; but it is no less implied in the expression ‘ frondosa,’ which is not on this occasion an idle epithet connected with the elm, but is intended to signify that the operation of plucking the foliage from it had been disregarded, as well as that of dressing the vine.’ pp. 210—13.

The volume contains some very happy elucidations of passages in the ancient authors, which have been hitherto deemed perplexing and obscure, and it cannot fail to interest the classical student. To a religious mind, the representation which it exhibits, of the present state of things in the Romish Church, is at once affecting and instructive. Such is Popery in 1822, unchanged in its character, as baleful, as antichristian, as essentially pagan as ever! The Author would doubtless reprobate such reflections as ‘ illiberal.’ He complains of Dr. Middleton’s ‘ asperity.’ We are happy to think, nevertheless, that his volume will, by the disclosures it contains, do more good than he intended to the cause he seems half ashamed to defend.

Art. IV. *Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph Benson.* By the Rev. James Macdonald. 8vo. pp. 541. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1823.

WE opened this volume with strongly excited expectations. The worth of the excellent individual to whom it relates, had long been known to us; the effusions of his vigorous and well furnished intellect had often fixed our attention; and we were prepared for something in the way of biography, that should revive those pleasing recollections, and contribute to put us in possession of a clear and impressive view of a character so estimable. There could be no difficulty in determining the course which it might be expedient to take, in writing the life of a man like Joseph Benson, who had for many years occupied a leading station in so large and so important a body as that to which he belonged; and we certainly had an-

ticipated, together with a full and discriminating delineation of individual qualities, a distinct exposition of the part taken, and the influence exercised, by this eminent person, in the general transactions of the Society. The public life of Mr. Benson ran parallel, to a considerable extent, with the progress of Methodism: he was a conspicuous actor in some of its marking events, and in the various discussions and negotiations which terminated in the 'famous Plan of Pacification,' he took a decided lead. The 'plan' itself was drawn up by him; and since he speaks of it as having been 'sanctioned by Conference,' we suppose that it is, substantially at least, the same with the 'Articles of Agreement for general Pacification,' which appear in the 'Minutes' for 1795, under the date of August 6th. We believe that these 'Articles' have been, ever since their adoption, the basis of the Methodist system, on all the points to which they refer; yet, the whole history of the Conference in which they were determined on, is despatched in less than a score of lines, though Mr. Benson must have taken an influential share in that weighty business. Nor are the preceding circumstances by any means clearly traced by Mr. Macdonald: in this affair, as well as in other important matters connected with the history of Methodism, he manifests a strange timidity, instead of treading with a firm step, and following fairly out the leading of his subject.

The portion of the volume which more peculiarly refers to the domestic life, the ministerial work, and the literary productions of Mr. Benson, is got up in a way which may have answered the purpose of giving the least assignable quantity of labour to the Biographer, but is very ill calculated to convey satisfactory information to the reader. We have a non-descript compound of Annals and Diary, a meagre detail of uninteresting circumstances, instead of a judicious selection and arrangement of facts; while vague and unimpressive eulogy is substituted for specific and discriminating criticism. We have heard from Mr. Benson's lips, some of the most thrilling and heart-searching appeals that were ever made by a Christian minister to a rivetted audience, and we have been frequently and deeply interested by the masterly views which he was in general accustomed to take of his subject. Could not Mr. Benson's family, could none of his friends, supply materials for the illustration of his very peculiar and very striking style of preaching? A few fragments of the kind to which we have just referred, would have given a much more intelligible idea of his habits of thought and feeling, than can be collected from the loose and superficial memoranda of the volume before us. Mr. Benson's *forte* did not lie in refinement nor in tender-

ness; if he was at any time pathetic, it was not at those seasons when we happened to have the gratification of hearing him; but his energy was overpowering, and his harsh and dissonant voice gave most terrific effect to the conceptions of his powerful mind. His warnings were awful, his representations of the effects of "the wrath to come," agitating in the extreme, and the strong emotion with which he called on sinners to hear and live, commanded an intense and unfaltering attention. It was the more necessary to mark the peculiarities of his eloquence, since, if our view of his mental constitution, and our estimate of his published works, be correct, there will be few traces of them found in the sermons which are announced as in the press. Mr. Benson, as a writer, has to us always appeared to fall short of his excellence as a preacher. His style is by no means remarkable for the higher qualities of composition; nor did he, at any time, produce impression by the felicities of language. The feelings which excited him in the pulpit, languished in the study: the emotions which were kindled by the sight of a large and anxious auditory, sunk under the processes of critical elaboration. If we are to judge from the contents of the volume in our hands, the striking characteristics of Mr. Benson's oratory will not survive the recollection of his friends.

Our notice of the contents of this volume, must be exceedingly brief; for, in truth, it does not supply us with materials for a lengthened and interesting article. We regret this, since we could have wished to do more justice than we have now the means of doing, to a man who, in the language of his Biographer, 'seems to have stood, in the esteem and affections of the Wesleyan Methodists, next to their venerable Founder. Nor was he, perhaps, less esteemed or beloved by those pious and orthodox Christians of other denominations, who occasionally sat under his ministry.' A few of the leading events of his life, are all that we can venture to lay before our readers.

Mr. Benson was born January 25, 1748, at Melmerley, Cumberland, of respectable parents, who directed his education with a view to the ministerial office. His early life was of a serious and sedentary cast, steadily devoted to the acquisition of learning. In his seventeenth year, he became the subject of deep and permanent impressions of Divine truth. Soon afterwards he obtained an interview with Mr. Wesley, and was appointed by him to the Classical Tutorship of the school which had been for some time established at Kingswood. About 1770, he accepted the direction of Lady Huntingdon's college; but his decided Arminianism, and her Lady-

ship's decided Calvinism, soon caused this engagement to terminate. In March 1769, he had matriculated at Oxford, but the tutor of his college, Mr. Bowerbank, having ascertained Mr. Benson's previous connexion with Lady Huntingdon and Mr. Wesley, refused to hold any further official intercourse with him, and declined signing his testimonials. Failing in all his attempts to obtain admission into the Established Church, he at length united himself with Mr. Wesley, and became one of his most indefatigable and effective coadjutors. From this time till his death, he laboured with conscientious and unwearied diligence, and with much success. The following letter from Hull forms part of the 'character of Mr. Benson by the Rev. J. Bunting,' given in the Appendix.

'Mr. Benson may with truth be said to have been the apostle of this part of the country. He was appointed for Hull in 1786. The Methodist Society was then few in number, and the chapel in which they worshipped, was very small. The Lord owned his labours, and before the following Christmas, the chapel was crowded with hearers; and as the service began at six o'clock in the evening, it was necessary to be there soon after five o'clock to secure a seat. The congregation continued to increase, and a larger place of worship became necessary. Mr. Benson, after surmounting many difficulties, with much labour and exertion, succeeded in raising the chapel situated in George Yard. There is not a place in this circuit, in which the name of Benson is not as ointment poured forth. At sundry times, during the period of his station here, the Holy Spirit was in a most wonderful manner poured out, while he was dispensing the word of life; and many persons now living speak of those times with a high degree of pleasure. He was indeed a minister of God for good to this people, and they are sure that Hull is deeply indebted to him, under God, for the respectable situation it now holds in the Methodist world.'

Although it has no immediate connexion with the life of Mr. Benson, we cannot pass over the following interesting anecdote.

'Being at Cambridge on the 14th of March (1816), he preached in the little Methodist chapel erected about half a mile from the town. The existence of that chapel is, under God, owing to William Beacock, a plaisterer. He was not a native of Cambridge, but went there to follow his calling; and finding the Methodists few in number, and without a chapel, he determined, if possible, to have one erected. He stated this to some pious friends, from whom he received no encouragement; but others, entering into his views, rendered him every assistance in their power. "In the spring of 1815," says Mr. Benson, "he purchased a piece of ground, and agreed for building materials, which were immediately supplied. He proceeded to build, toiled most indefatigably; and soon, to the astonishment of all, com-

pleted the chapel, having, with his own hands, and frequently without the help of a labourer, done the work of bricklayer, plaisterer, and slater; and this he did while he steadily refused to make any charge whatever for his labour; nay, in addition to this, he subscribed five pounds. This, however, the trustees of the chapel refused to accept, and made him a small present, which, yielding to their importunity, he accepted."

About two years before his death, Mr. Benson's constitution began to give way; but he held up, with characteristic energy and resolution, until a few weeks before his death. His end was peace; no doubts or fears were permitted to assail him, but he looked forward with calm confidence to "the recompence of the reward." On one occasion, when Mr. Atmore paid him a visit,

"he had," writes Mr. A., "considerable fever upon him, and his legs were greatly swelled. He was quite recollected. I said, 'Sir, we are poor creatures when God lays his hand upon us.' He replied, 'Yes,' with great emphasis; 'when he toucheth us, he maketh us to consume away, like as a moth fretteth a garment.' I afterwards said, 'I have a letter of yours written fifty-five years ago, which I was reading the other day. What a mercy that you have been enabled to be faithful from that time to the present!' He replied, 'As to my being faithful, I leave that to God; he will be my judge: he knows I have aimed at being faithful, and have served him in the simplicity of my heart.' I then said, 'Your only ground of consolation now is, not what you have done for God, but what he has done for you.' He answered, 'I am saved by grace alone, through faith.' I replied, 'There is no other foundation than that which God hath laid in Zion.' He answered, 'No; there needs no other; that is quite sufficient.'.....

"Some friends called upon him..... They were struck with his pallid countenance, feeble frame, and tottering limbs. In the course of conversation, the query was proposed, whether a deviation from unreserved obedience would produce something like regret even in heaven. With great solemnity, Mr. Benson said, "God accepts us, not *for* our obedience, but *for* the sacrificial atonement of his Son: *there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus.* He will say, *I do not condemn thee.*"

"On Wednesday, February 14, his pulse was more slow and equal. In the morning, Dr. Clarke, Mr. Bunting, and Mr. Richard Smith, visited him. Dr. Clarke, who was much affected at seeing him, said: "You know me, Sir." He answered, "O yes, it is Dr. Clarke." "Well, sir, you are not far from the kingdom of our God." He replied, "I am not only not far from the kingdom of our God, but *I am sure of finding God in that kingdom*;—I am breaking very fast, and shall do so more and more." Dr. C. said, "You have an all-sufficient and almighty Saviour, and you now maintain your trust in Him." He replied, "Yes." The Doctor then prayed with him,

after which he said, "You feel the power of those great truths you have for so many years so fully declared to us; we have not followed a cunningly devised fable." He answered, "No, no; I have no hope of being saved but by grace through faith. I still feel the need of the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit." To Mr. Bunting he said, "I am very weak, I feel my infirmities; I feel that I have no sufficiency for any thing good in myself." He observed, also, "I consider that we must not only be pardoned and accepted through Christ, but also for his sake; and by his Spirit be fully renewed, and made partakers of the Divine nature." Mr. Bunting replied, "You now realize the truths which you have so frequently pressed upon us." He answered, "Yes! O yes!"

Two days after this interview, on the 16th of February 1821, Mr. Benson died without a struggle or a groan.

At an early period of Mr. Benson's life, he had met with Dr. Watts's "Glory of Christ," and imbibed his sentiments respecting the pre-existence of Christ's human soul. When he had been some years a preacher, he was charged, by the redoubtable Doctor Thomas Coke, with Arianism, on account of this tenet; but he immediately appealed to Mr. Wesley and the Preachers, by whom he was completely acquitted. Some years after this circumstance, in answer to an application from a ministerial friend, Mr. Benson, in a letter which is inserted in the present memoir, gave his reasons for abandoning his former sentiment, and for adopting the general opinion. We regret that the length of this clear and well-reasoned paper prevents us from citing it; but we think it by far the best thing in the volume, and we hope that it will not be forgotten in any collection of his letters that may be given to the world.

Art. V. *Report on the Present State of the Greek Confederation, and on its Claims to the Support of the Christian World.* Read to the Greek Committee, on September 13, 1823. By Edward Blaquiere, Esq. With an Appendix. 8vo. pp. 26. London. 1823.

THE eye of the philanthropist turns sickened from the hopeless state of Spain, sold and betrayed to another long captivity worse than Moorish—to the rising fortunes of emancipated Greece. We readily avail ourselves of any opportunity to diffuse further information, or to keep alive the interest that is awakened on this subject. Facts, however, if we are not greatly mistaken, will go much further with John Bull, than pathetic appeals. This Report adds but little to our previous knowledge, but the following statement is important.

With regard to the origin of the Greek contest, it cannot be too soon proclaimed, nor too widely circulated, that there was not the

smallest connexion, either directly or indirectly, between the rising in Greece and passing events in the rest of Europe. Having made this positive and solemn declaration, upon the importance and necessity of which, to the people of Greece, it would be superfluous to dilate, the members of your Committee do not require to be informed, that the struggle was first commenced in Moldavia by a general in the service of a great northern power; and that although his proceedings were subsequently disclaimed, and himself disgraced, yet the irreproachable character of Alexander Ypsilanti, his bravery while serving in the Russian campaigns, and more especially the place of aide-de-camp he held about the person of His Imperial Majesty, were pre-eminently calculated to create a belief that the insurrection was tacitly approved by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. This alone was surely more than sufficient to excite the hopes of the Greek people in the western provinces, if it did not stimulate them to fly to arms. But irresistible as the call of Ypsilanti certainly was, so little had the events in Wallachia and Moldavia been anticipated in the Morea, that no preparations whatever were made for a rising; nor was it until the massacre of the venerable and virtuous Patriarch Gregory, not to mention thousands of unoffending Greeks at Constantinople and other places, together with the incarceration of all the Primates at Tripolizza as hostages, and an order for disarming those of the people who had been hitherto allowed to carry a musket for the purposes of private amusement, that they saw no alternative between resistance and extermination. When I add, that even the actual President, Mavromichale, one of the most opulent men in Greece, had not a single barrel of gunpowder in his possession, on the insurrection's breaking out, and that more than two-thirds of the male population capable of bearing arms in the Morea and other points, were under the necessity of sallying forth without any other weapons than sticks, I am sure it is perfectly unnecessary to say more, in order to convince your Committee that the attempt to connect the Greek struggle with those events which continue to agitate the south of Europe, is as unfounded as it is cruel!

We cannot commend the taste with which Mr. Blaquiere has drawn up his Report. Making every allowance for evident and unavoidable haste, we must still regret the want of tact which has led the Writer to panegyryze the Greeks on the ground of their 'scrupulous regard to religious duties,' and to hazard the extremely absurd assertion, that, 'in all that constitutes female excellence,' the women of Greece are more like the matrons and virgins of England, than any other women that he could name. We could wish to hear less too of the 'sainted work,' the 'immaculate office' of aiding the Greeks,—of its being a 'sublime spectacle almost worthy of the Divinity,'—of the 'untinct spirit of patriotism and public virtue which animated the heroes of Marathon, Salamis, and Platea,' &c. We advert to such expressions, not as critics, but as friends to a cause

which requires not the aid of exaggeration or romance to recommend it, and the real merits of which we regret to see mixed up with equivocal statements. We earnestly hope that Mr. Blaquiere will keep clear of this style in his forthcoming history of the origin and progress of the Greek Revolution. Why needs he assure us, that he 'will be guided by the strictest regard to impartiality and truth?' We question whether either impartiality or truth be attainable in the present stage of the proceedings, however honest may be a writer's intentions; and when it is considered that one of the parties is the Turk, the writer who should promise thus much, betrays more self-confidence than we should ourselves feel under similar circumstances. The present pamphlet is put forth by 'the Greek Committee.' May we take the liberty of suggesting that it would be adviseable, in any future publication that may emanate from them, or appear with their sanction, to affix the names of the gentlemen of whom the committee is composed? Were any members of the Society of Friends of their number, we should recommend Mr. Blaquiere to let them have the drawing up of his next Report. They better understand, in general, the right way of interesting the public.

The urgent distress of the Greek population forms, at this moment, a most forcible and undeniable appeal to British philanthropy; and if fairly brought home, and securities can be given for the due application of what shall be raised, we have little doubt that it will be answered by extensive and liberal contributions. 'Co-operation in the regeneration' of the Greeks, is another matter, not quite so easily understood; and there is at least one section of the Christian world, who could not consistently join in 'affording the means of organization to the Greek armies.' If the Greek Committee shall at all assume the character of a political association, they must not expect to obtain that general support which the British public is always ready to give to every undertaking of a purely philanthropic description. Our own Government evidently look on with good wishes, but diffident of the issue. That Admiralty weather-glass, the Quarterly Review, which, in the spirited article on the 'Cause of the Greeks, seemed to promise fair weather, has, in the last Number, sunk to Change. Wo to the Greeks, should Sir Thomas Maitland take part against them, or Mr. Hume move in their favour. All Mr. Canning's nascent English spirit would then at once receive an extinguisher. In the article on the Ionian Islands, the eventual defeat of the Greeks is not obscurely hinted at as 'the *probable* issue;' in which case they are to have the island of Calamos, it seems, assigned to them as an asylum, 'without

'performing the usual quarantine!!' 'But, if on the other hand, it is added, 'the Greeks should be fortunate enough to bring the contest to a successful issue, or should be contented with the Morea, the two naval islands of Hydra and Spezzia, and some others which they possess, and make their peace, on the condition of holding them in independence'—what then?—why, to animate their hopes, and sustain their enthusiasm under their present sufferings, *then* the English Government will give them—a good example: 'the proximity of the Ionian Islands would afford them constant opportunity of witnessing the happy effects arising out of a sound, practical representative government, and teach them to despise the theoretical and delusive doctrines of a set of itinerant constitution-mongers, whose only object is to create confusion in order that they may profit by it.' The full force of these sage remarks we do not profess to understand; but, as to the Greeks making their peace with their Turkish enemies, we should be glad to believe it possible, that any amicable treaty could secure to them the undisturbed possession of their present conquests. But nothing can be done at *Constantinople* without money; and it is at *Constantinople* only that peace can be purchased.

If the Greeks should not be able to maintain their ground, it will probably be owing to their attempting too much. To secure, not to extend their conquests, ought to be their object. Were it feasible to expel the Turk from Europe, they would be far too weak to occupy the frontier of Christendom. The weakness of the Ottoman empire has hitherto rendered it an eligible neighbour; and though Europe has no longer any thing to fear from Asiatic invaders, the possible extinction of that empire is contemplated by our politicians not without anxiety as to the eventual issue. Russia and England are jealously watching each other; and the wider apart they can be kept, the more likely they are to continue friends. The Muscovite is already a formidable rival, and would be a worse neighbour. Yet, Greece must be characteristically Turkish, Russian, or English. We are venturing, however, into speculations too profound for critics of our humble pretensions.

Art. VI. 1. *Memorable Days in America*: being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain by positive Evidence, the Condition and probable Prospects of British Emigrants: including Accounts of Mr. Birkbeck's Settlement in the Illinois. By W. Faux, an English Farmer. 8vo. pp. 488. Price 14s. London. 1823.

2. *Two Years' Residence in the Settlement of the English Prairie, in the Illinois Country*. With an Account of its Animal and Vegetable Productions, &c. By John Woods, Small 8vo. pp. 310. London. 1822.

3. *An Account of the United States of America*, derived from actual Observation, during a Residence of Four Years in that Republic: including original Communications. By Isaac Holmes, of Liverpool. 8vo. pp. 476. Price 12s. London. 1823.

THE public are assuredly indebted to those gentlemen who take the trouble of crossing the Atlantic, for the express purpose of spying out the land of promise on the further side, and who bring back a true report of the state of things to their friends in England. These three Writers substantially agree in *dissuading* their readers from emigration; and their reasons against the measure are, to our minds, weighty and conclusive. All three complain of the climate; all agree that money is not to be got there; and Mr. Holmes, who seems the most disposed to admit that an English farmer had better emigrate even to America, than starve at home, lays it down as essential to happiness, that the settler should 'talk and think as little as possible about Great Britain.' We believe that the rage for emigration is dying away; and what is a far more consoling reflection, we trust that the circumstances which drove so many to that desperate expedient, are gradually ceasing to operate. But for such a state of things, Illinois prairies would have held forth no temptations, and the golden bubble would have tempted no Englishman from his acres and his fire side. Positive distress and threatening ruin impelled many to forsake their country. Panic despondency and political dissatisfaction had perhaps a still more extensive influence. But, as the agricultural interest recovers from its extreme depression, and the causes of that temporary pressure become better understood, these motives will lose their force, and 'old England' for ever will again be the cry of her peasantry.

The views and the temper, however, with which such gentlemen, visiting the United States on such an errand, must naturally regard every thing in that country, would not seem to be peculiarly favourable to their forming a dispassionate or enlarged estimate of the moral and political aspect of America.

In visiting other foreign countries, where almost every thing that the Traveller observes or meets with, presents a contrast to the habits and manners of his native land, no intelligent man suffers any disappointment, much less indulges in invidious comparison at every step, on encountering what offends his prejudices, or interferes with his convenience. He would be thought a very narrow-minded man, who should quarrel with the natives of other countries for having very different likings and dislikings from himself. If the wish to settle in a foreign clime is awakened by any circumstances connected with health or economy, he makes up his mind at once to many positive sacrifices;—he does not expect to find the state of society in accordance with his native habits, but, for the sake of the climate, or some other distinct and pressing consideration, resolves to conform to things as he finds them. But an Englishman in America hardly feels himself in a foreign country. The language, the religion, and, to a certain extent, the manners are English, and he is apt to resent every thing that is not so. If inconvenienced by the absence of the accommodations he has been accustomed to, he is almost ready to take personal offence against the people. The very similarity of the country to that which he has left, renders him the more awake to every point of dissimilarity, and the more impatient of every thing which offends him. He forgets that the state of society is foreign, if the language is not, and that a captious, grumbling traveller has as little business in the United States, as in Italy or Egypt.

But when the visiter's object is to decide upon the eligibility of emigration to this distant country, he naturally becomes the more disposed to compare every thing with things at home. And as the question to be determined is, whether America is the preferable country, it will not satisfy him, unless things are in a better state there than in England. For instance, we in this country are all ruined for want of a radical reform that should republicanize the State,—for want of political liberty, universal suffrage, and so forth. Now, when the patriot arrives at the land of freedom in the other hemisphere, he naturally expects to find realized the happy effects of that political constitution which he has been led to regard as the panacea for all national evils; and he is vexed beyond measure to find that there is little or no sympathy, in America, with his patriotic feelings, and that political freedom is not the only thing required to make nations or individuals happy. At home, he could manifest, perhaps, the utmost indifference to the state of religion; and he would not have been peculiarly shocked at visiting Hyde Park on a Sunday. But he expects to find

the Americans a religious people; and is absolutely scandalized at an uninteresting preacher or a dearth of church-room. Why, if the Americans are as bad as we are, they ought to have an Episcopal Establishment at once. Again, the root of all the distress at home, that which has supplied the motive to emigration, has been the fall of prices, the contraction of the currency, and the consequent want of money. What, then, must be the Traveller's dissatisfaction with a country, in which you may live well if you will work hard, but in which to grow rich by husbandry is out of the question? If English farmers could have been content to live here, as they *must* live in America, they might, in very many cases, have stood their ground, and have obviated the hard necessity of tearing themselves and their families from their native soil. Once more, an Englishman is perpetually quarrelling with his own climate, and this forms one of the main considerations with the greater part of those who take up their residence abroad. Cheap living and a fine climate are two inducements powerful enough to reconcile many of our countrymen to living under a bad government, in a land of priests and slaves, where they must forego every religious advantage, and waste their incomes upon thankless strangers. Just these two inducements to emigration, America cannot present. Its climate is far more trying to an Englishman's constitution than that of his own country; and if he is cured, by going there, of the habit of complaining of the weather, it must be because greater evils are often borne with more resignation than trifling ones.

But there is another circumstance to be taken into consideration, in judging of the reports brought back by those who have gone farm-hunting in America. In regard to other countries, the Traveller is content if he can spend his money pleasantly: if he stays in it, the utmost that he hopes to do, is to save money. But our emigrants go out to America, not to spend money, or to save it, but to get money. They come as speculators, as competitors, not as visitors or gentlemen residents. The Americans know this, and it is not surprising if it has some effect on their manners towards the stranger, as it undoubtedly makes all the difference in the estimate *he* will form of the recommendations of the country. Brother Jonathan ought doubtless to be flattered at having so many of the children of his elder brother Mr. Bull, flocking to him out of pure affection, and looking up to him for protection, and desirous of spending the rest of their days in his very roomy domain. But, if they receive a rough welcome, and are allowed to help themselves to lodging and larder, it becomes them not to complain of the Yankee manners or singular habits of their

West-country relations. America is not Italy, is not Greece, is not Egypt, is not England. It is not a land of feudal institutions or of classic monuments, a land of the arts or of the graces, of voluptuous ease or luxury, nor a land of turnpike roads, hotels, pump-rooms, and watering places. But even if it were not destitute of all such attractions, the very different humour in which travellers reconnoitre America, from what those gentlemen tourists carry about with them, who go in search of the antique or the picturesque, over Alps and through deserts, exposing themselves to all sorts of peril and privation, a vertical sun, filth, hard fare, and the Arabs,—the different humour, we say, of travellers in America, who are under no similar excitement, and have no enthusiasm to sustain them, would naturally make every thing there appear to the greatest disadvantage; and allowance ought to be made for the medium through which the people, as well as the country, would be viewed under such circumstances. To an individual contemplating emigration, the all-important information will relate to the reasons for and against settling in any part of the United States; but those who have made up their minds, that England “with all its faults” is the best country for Englishmen, do not want to hear this question perpetually argued, but to form a correct estimate of the present condition and extending prospects of the mighty Republic.

Mr. Faux seems a very worthy, respectable, if not very strong-minded man, and his volume is full of anecdote and amusing matter of fact detail. It is dedicated to the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Coke, whose names appear in the list of subscribers. But the simplicity of mind which characterizes the work, vouches not less strongly than these testimonials, for his veracity and honest intention. He undertook the tour with many favourable prepossessions, he says, for the country he was about to visit, and, throughout the whole enterprize, was influenced by a sense of patriotic duty. He has been impelled to the present publication by the same sentiment, ‘in the hope that the truth so long perverted and concealed, may contribute to destroy the illusions of transatlantic speculation, and to diffuse solid, home-bred satisfaction among his industrious countrymen.’ His prepossessions at setting out, were not, however, unmixed with some very natural fears and misgivings. Having bade farewell to his ‘good and venerable father,’ whom he never expected to see more, and torn himself from the embraces of his wife and one dear and only child, he set off for London, where he called on Mr. Fearon, to request letters of introduction to his friends. ‘No,’ was the reply, ‘my book has destroyed them: *you will confirm my*

'reports.' This was not very encouraging. Soon after, on paying part of his passage on board the good ship *Ruthy*, bound to Charleston, he was told by the Captain: 'We are short of money in America, but sure of living.' This pithy assurance did not prevent Mr. Faux from trying at several offices to effect a life-insurance, 'the climate to which I was destined,' he says, 'being doubly hazardous.' Not succeeding in this, he paid *three guineas to a physician* for prescribing $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. of salts, one third Epsom and two thirds Cheltenham, to be taken an hour before rising, and repeated if necessary!! The name of his physician is not given. It is perfectly clear, that the patient required a very different sort of travelling medicine. The ship had not cleared the channel before our Author felt his 'nervous system greatly shocked and impaired' by sleepless nights and the other effects of rough weather. 'I was near resolving,' he says, 'that if I reached shore, I would abandon my mission.' Shame, however, and a little remaining courage, impelled him, as they have done a thousand others, to proceed. But worse sufferings were to come. The captain proved a 'stingy,' 'brutal,' profane fellow; one of those Yankees, said the first mate, who, in the southern states, are said to skin a flea for the sake of its hide and tallow. He beat most unmercifully the broken-backed steward, who had given no provocation, stamping repeatedly on his neck, while he begged for mercy. Our Author's comment is: 'The captain's conduct is brutal, but *somewhat national*.' The ship was short both of water and fuel, the provisions turned out bad, the fowls died of disease, the steerage swarmed with vermin. Happily, on the sad seventy-eighth day, he escaped from the *Ruthy*, being hospitably received on board a Boston trader. But if our Author's favourable prepossessions were not undermined by this time, they must have been considerably shaken, at all events, the day after his landing at Boston.

'Mr. Smith, my landlord, a pleasant Scotsman, advises his and my countrymen to keep at home, if they cannot bring from 500l. to 1,000l. The poor, he says, are not wanted here, nor any where in the state of Massachusetts, where many are unemployed, and *nobody is satisfied*.'

'A few days after, he dined with Mr. Lyman, a strong federalist, as is his lady, who 'regrets the loss of the British yoke, and ranks our *Courier and Post* among her favourite papers. 'And then,' said she, 'how pleasant are even the cottages of your poor!'

'Mr. Lyman and his lady seemed on all subjects unanimous, and especially in giving preference to England and every thing English.'

His brother is now in England, on a visit to Holkham, the seat of our illustrious commoner, Mr. Coke. Mr. Birkbeck and emigration now became the theme. "At that gentleman," said he, "I am astonished. He is intentionally or unintentionally deluding your English farmers, who, if they come to America, must drive their own carts, waggons, and ploughs, into the field and to market, and work here as hard as labourers work there, or not live. And even in this state, you see, as to-day, our farmers hauling their own produce, such as hay and corn, to market, where they have to stand all day, or hawk it about from house to house. What would your smart English farmers think of this, and how would they like it? If, however, Mr. Birkbeck and others must emigrate, why should they go into our wilderness, far from society, or at best mixing up with the refuse of our population, with men of stained names, thieves, and insolvents, who go thither to hide themselves; voluntary exiles, of whom society is well rid, because unable to endure them. The Caucus which you attended on Sunday night, embodies the respectable part of the citizens, federalists and democrats, who differ but little in real principle; the former are always most favourable to England, and think a war with her always unnecessary, and an evil to be avoided, the latter prefer France and the French." My host seems to regret that his freehold and other large estates give to him no more power than that of the humblest citizen, and says that my countryman, Joseph Lancaster, will be forbidden to instruct the black people of the South, it being indispensably necessary that they should remain in ignorance.' pp. 31, 2.

In the Honourable William Gray, our Author found the exact reverse of Mr. Lyman in state matters and opinions;—'a moderate democrat, a hoary, honest, patriotic chronicler of America long before the revolution; in other respects, a kind-hearted intelligent grandee of the Republic, highly influential both in commerce and politics,' who has filled the most responsible situations in the state of Massachusetts. He is described as having long, withered features, a pale complexion, white hair, and dressed in an old cloak and a hat seemingly twenty years old.' This gentleman spoke encouragingly to Mr. Faux.

'He feels sure that British farmers and labourers of steady habits, must and do benefit by emigration to so good and flourishing a country as America, and says that Englishmen are esteemed far above all other Europeans.'

This contrariety of opinion must have perplexed our worthy Traveller not a little. He embarked, however, for Charleston, the original point of his destination. Among his fellow-passengers was a country-woman, an ancient maid, who told him, that all emigrants with whom she is acquainted, are disappointed, but that they settle in a bad neighbourhood. At Charles-

ton, he describes himself as 'immediately impressed with the 'respectable, happy, and healthy appearance of the slaves 'with which the city seems to swarm.' In a page or two we meet with the following proofs of this happiness.

'*Negro's food.* All that some planters deem necessary is, one peck of corn meal and a little salt for an adult, and six quarts for a child, without either milk or bacon. Such is the allowance for a whole week.' p. 56.

'Two men were this day sentenced to die; one for the murder of a white man, and the other for stealing a negro. A man may here murder a negro almost with impunity, or by paying a paltry fine to the state; but, if he steals one, he must be hanged for it, and almost without benefit of clergy.' p. 49. (Mr. Faux does not understand this last expression.)

'Their black cattle (alias slaves) do not breed freely, but destroy their young in embryo, because they are slaves, but still they are considered to be the best cattle kept. Their treatment appears to be humane; their day's work or task being done by one o'clock, if they labour well. Their condition seems in some respects' (query, in what?) 'better than that of the paupers in my native land. It is said that the blacks are unconscious of any degradation, but of the truth of this assertion I greatly doubt. The planters generally profess to abhor the force and cruelty of the task-master or overseer, but still think both indispensable, and that their estates could not be cultivated without them.' p. 59.

'About three weeks since, a gentleman planter of this neighbourhood had one of his slaves, a strong fellow, whipped to death for stealing. The party who presided over this horrid execution, were all, as well as the owner, drunk; a circumstance which is here offered as an excuse for murder, or rather for whipping away 1,000 dollars, the prime cost of the victim.' p. 65.

'— Broadfoot, Esq. a merchant in the city, informed me at dinner, that he was on a jury, in a cause where a female sued a white man of this state for 60l. the amount of twelve years' maintenance of her and his natural child. She gained the cause, but he not being able to pay debt and costs, or give security, was actually sentenced to be sold for a term of years, until his labour had paid the demand. How equitable! how patriarchal!' p. 88.

'I was formally introduced to Dr. Beattie of George-town, the young sprightly eloquent orator at the city forum, where he shines a public defender of duelling. My reverend heterodox friend (John Wright, Unitarian minister, late an object of Episcopal prosecution at Liverpool) joined us, and contended that the blacks have no claim to a common origin from our father Adam; the form and construction of their bones, and the difference of their colour, constituting so complete a contrast with all other nations, are held to be positive proofs that they spring from some other and inferior source. This doctrine is very palatable in America. I regret that it should be espoused by an Englishman. White men here sell their own yellow

children in the ordinary course of business ; and free blacks also sell their immediate offspring, male and female.' pp. 111, 12.

' In the navy yard of this city is now living a free black man, who, together with his wife and a large family, all free, were stolen away from their own house in the dead of the night, and sold into the distant state of Georgia. He alone managed to escape, but the rest have never since been seen or heard of. Such outrages on humanity and Christianity provoke no investigation, for Mammon, the supreme deity, must not be affronted. It is difficult to believe that a whole family of free-born people, living in the core of a free nation, the freest of the free, could thus fare in the nineteenth century.' pp. 129, 30.

About twelve miles west of Colombia, the Author saw a party of jurymen and other citizens digging up the body of a slave who had been wantonly whipped to death, and buried privately about a week since, and that too by the hands of his own master. This was the second case of murder he had met with, and on reaching Charleston, to the credit of his feelings, he drew up a statement of the facts, with a spirited comment, in the form of a letter to the Editor of the Charleston Courier. It was inserted, and produced considerable sensation, some approving and others disapproving his conduct. Soon after, the Attorney General sent for him, and charged him with imprudence in ' publishing it so hastily.'

' Sir, you have stained the character of South Carolina, and what you have thus written will be greedily copied, and extensively read to our injury in the northern and eastern states, and all over Europe. But, Sir, let me tell you, further, that such offences rarely occur in this state, which is always prompt to punish the offenders.'

Mr. Attorney General *promised* to write immediately to the district attorney, and get the murderer indicted. There is no evidence that he redeemed the promise, no probability that he intended to fulfil it. Some vague paragraphs appeared, under his direction, in the Courier two days after, the object of which was to obliterate the impression made by our Author's honest remonstrance ; and Judge King warned him, that ' the Carolinians are chivalrous,' and would pursue him with the most determined animosity if he continued to provoke and wound them on this ' tender point.'

' Such being the state of public feeling in this free country, I was cautioned against being out late in the evening. " Take care of yourself," said my friends, " for *dirking* is the fashion." I therefore declined further controversy ; merely saying, that though the paupers of England were by the planters thought to be worse off than their negroes, yet, in England, bad as things are, not even a lord may kill a man without being hanged for it ; a specific which I would recommend to all negro-killers in America.' p. 80.

Such are the moral consequences of slave-holding; such its brutalizing effects on the country which tolerates it. The population of Charleston exceeds 30,000, of which one half are slaves. What the other half are, our readers will judge. But still, it would not be less unjust to hold up the state of things in Carolina and Georgia, as characteristic of the United States, than it would be for a foreigner to point to our West India Colonies as an illustration of the national character of the English. The Eastern States no longer tolerate slavery. In the Western country, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri are slave-holding states, but Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, do not allow of the abominable traffic. If the national character of the Americans—who, in fact, are not a nation, nor can properly be considered as having a national character—but if the character of the population of the United States is to be judged of by the toleration of slavery on the part of its legislature, what was the character of the British nation prior to the year 1802? And even now, we have too many *Carolinians* at home, to be justified in reproaching the Americans with this foul stain on the human name.

Carolina we should have thought one of the last States for an honest Englishman to select for his residence, and certainly one of the least adapted to strengthen our Author's favourable prepossessions. But he had relations settled there, and meets an astonishing number of old acquaintance, emigrants chiefly from the Isle of Ely, Huntingdonshire, and the adjacent counties. Most of these were full of complaints, but it is sufficiently clear, that many of them had only themselves to thank for not having succeeded. Mr. Adam Lyon, late of Chatteris, I. of Ely, now a butcher at Washington, states, that farming near his native town, is better than any here, although he knows of some farmers in Maryland who net great profits. Mr. Thomas Coote, the brewer, late of Huntingdonshire, prefers his chance to any he could take in England. Mr. Faux, on visiting the navy-yard at Washington, saw several eminent mechanics, nearly all Englishmen, some of whom are not receiving above 1½ dollar a day, although at home they received 3*l.* a week. Mr. Cocken, late of Lincolnshire, came to this city with money, and has increased it. Dr. F. Dawes and lady, late of Wisbeach, wish, but are reluctant to return, seeming to stay here only to find fault with every body. 'No body,' says he, 'is getting, or is able to raise any money.' 'As to Mr. Long, from Lincolnshire, he has removed three times, is dissatisfied with all things, and thinks no man honest.' Mr. Beaumont, of Huntingdonshire, came to Charleston an unrecommended stranger two years before,

and is saving money as an overseer of a plantation. Mrs. Calder, a Caledonian, grumbles greatly, because her billiard table pays a tax of 100 dollars annually. There are, it seems, a number of Scotch emigrants in Carolina, who are the most successful merchants; yet, adds our Author, 'they abuse America violently, and never become citizens.' In time of war, therefore, they are ordered out of the sea-ports into the interior as aliens. Mr. Eno, late of Tyd near Wisbeach, keeps a tavern at Alexandria; thinks that few emigrants ever rise above their former stations; says, if he had a fortune, he would live in England, but, that as he has not, he is better off where he is. Mr. Worsley, an English farmer from Lincolnshire, now a first-rate manager in Virginia, has, in about fifteen years gained 5,000*l.* by farming, although he began with only 500*l.*

'Edward Wilson, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, an Englishman of unspotted name, and a Quaker, brother to Thomas Wilson of Houghton, Hunts, says, "An emigrant recently came to me with 5,000*l.* sterling, which he put into my hands, and in confidence, wished me to use it for him at my discretion. I did so, and returned it to him in two years, having made the 5,000*l.* into 8,000*l.* He seemed well pleased with my stewardship. He left in England a discarded son, for whom I prevailed on him to send. He came, and the old man gave him 200*l.* to start in business here, while he (the father) bought land in the Western country. In less than three years, the son was the richest man of the two. I said it would be so."'

p. 110.

'Mr. Savage, an emigrant from Downham in Norfolk, who married my townswoman, Miss Blinkhorn, introduced himself this day to invite me down to Marlborough, where he is well settled as a shoemaker. His wife receives 150 dollars a year, and has all the wood she wants for fuel or other purposes, a house, and four acres of land, with range for cows and sows; all for instructing two or three children belonging to a richer neighbour. He loves the country. The people are willing to give or lend him almost any thing. He states, that making shoes, and raising tobacco, are both good trades, a crop of the latter having been worth from 200 dollars to 300 dollars an acre, and costing only about 30 dollars; a fine profit.'

p. 111.

'Called on my townfolk, Jack Belcare and his wife; both are disappointed; she would not have left Sutton, could she have counted the cost and sorrow of it, although they are getting a living, and have disposed of their children. She keeps a little store; he works and drinks heartily, but has not yet spent all their Sutton money; Jack left a comfortable home and dairy behind him, and now works bare-headed on the road, cursing the hot climate.'

p. 112.

'Young Rawlings, late of Chatteris, called to say that three of my simple-hearted countrymen, from Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire,

had inquired for me, and represented me as a spy, but still thought and talked kindly of and wished to see me. By a spy, they did not mean a government spy in the common acceptation of that term. This young quaker is an assistant in a store at 300 dollars a year and board. He saves only 100 dollars, and, if he cannot become master of the concern, thinks of returning home, where he can do better. Yet he thinks 100 dollars here equal to 100l. sterling in England. Mrs. Stile, late of Sutton in the Isle, is ready to take the benefit of insolvency, but has disposed of her daughter in matrimony.

‘ Mr. Gale, a worthy, feeling, meritorious Englishman from Yorkshire, and once dandled on the poetic knee of Montgomery, but now at the head of the government organ, *The National Intelligencer*, says, that British emigrants possess habits and prejudices which render them unfit to mix with the natives down to the second generation. They, therefore, should not attempt to associate with North Americans, but should form distinct settlements like the Germans. Such a step would ensure them success and happiness in a new country; on coming into which they should depute a confidential agent of their own to apply at the National *Land Office* at Washington, where Mr. Elliott and other Englishmen, forming a society to instruct and guide emigrants, would point out to them the best sections of land and climate, with their local description, and that without the expense and labour of looking and wandering all over the empire to their ruin.’ pp. 113—15.

Such are the varying accounts and the varying fortunes of the British emigrants in the Southern states. The last paragraph contains the best advice that could be given on the subject; and so far, Messrs. Flower and Birkbeck may be considered as having acted wisely. Every where, however, in passing through the Southern states, Mr. Faux heard their plans ridiculed, and their certain ruin prognosticated. At Philadelphia, a rich citizen who has had great experience in all matters touching emigrants, told our Author, that nobody who is living comfortably in England, should think of emigrating, but that, to those who resolved on the measure, Pennsylvania and the Eastern states were to be recommended in preference to the Western country, for the very substantial reasons, that the latter is unhealthy, is supplied with only bad water, and is without a market. Mr. Birkbeck was charged with having misrepresented and spoken unjustly of the Eastern states, without having ever seen them.

‘ Mr. Birkbeck still lives in a log cabin, doing little or no business. The Flowers and he are irreconcilable enemies. Grandchildren will reap the benefits of emigration thither, but fathers and mothers, although they cannot starve, must sacrifice themselves.’

Mr. Faux heard the same sentiment from Friend Wilson of

Philadelphia, a rich quaker from Northamptonshire, who has become opulent by trading in British goods.

“ Though there is some distress here,” says he, “ there is room for all, masters and labourers in agriculture ; but I cannot advise people who are comfortable in England, to come here, unless they can appreciate the advantages arising to their children and posterity generally. Fathers and mothers should expect to sacrifice themselves for their children. The rage for speculation has ruined many, farmers not excepted, who purchased lands now not worth half the cost. The banks are the sources of that ruin, but as they are nuisances fast removing, trade, though as bad, or worse than in England, will soon become better. Those farmers and merchants who have been prudent, are either rich or well to do. There are not above four houses in Philadelphia able to import goods into it. I am declining the business myself, it being far better to do no business than to do it unsafely. As to slave states, if I were blind, I could tell when I was entering any of them. I can smell them; the moral air is putrid. Management and every thing else tells a slave state.” pp. 157, 8.

At Kentucky, our Traveller called on Squire Lidiard, a rich English emigrant who, with his lady and two elegant daughters, came to this western country and city, in consequence of having read and credited Birkbeck's Notes and Letters, and having visited the Flower family in England. Mr. Lidiard was well known on 'Change, had a counting-house in London, and a house at Blackheath. He scarcely knows what induced him to emigrate, having a fortune enabling himself and family to live in ease any where ; complains much of American roguery ; feels great difficulty in advising his friends on the subject of emigration, and means to wait two years longer before he does it ; calls Birkbeck's and Flower's settlements ‘ all a humbug,’ and says, ‘ they are all in the mire and cannot get out.’ Poor Squire Lidiard ! He has since removed *eastward*. The same day,

‘ a fine English family from Lincolnshire passed through this city on their return from Birkbeck's settlement, with which they seem quite disgusted, and fully satisfied and assured that it would not, could not do. They were quite out of funds, pennyless strangers in a strange land ; but they were able to borrow some money from the United States' branch bank, to enable them to proceed to Philadelphia.’

p. 197.

At length, Mr. Faux reached the English prairie. It presented ‘ a wide, rusty, black prospect, the fire having passed ‘ over it.’ He rode into Albion at dusk, and called on Speculator Pugsley and Mr. E. P. Fordham, ‘ who never means to ‘ return to England, except rich or to be rich.’ If he fails

here, he will turn hunter, he says, and live by his rifle on the frontiers.

‘I supped,’ continues our Author, ‘and went to bed in a hog-stye of a room, containing four filthy beds and eight mean persons; the sheets stinking and dirty; scarcity of water is, I suppose, the cause. The beds lie on boards, not cords, and are so hard that I could not sleep. Three in one bed, all filth, no comfort, and yet this is an English tavern; no whiskey, no milk, and vile tea, in this land of prairies.’

‘At sun-rise I rose from our filthy nest. Mr. Simpkins, a dirty, idle wife, with sons and daughters, late of Baldock, Herts, are the managers of this prairie tavern. A better one of brick is building by Mr. R. Flower, who owns the former, from which Simpkins is about removing to Evansville, because he and family, though all poor, are above being at the beck and call of every body, and pleasing nobody; and besides (says Simpkins) the great folks are too aristocratical for me, and endeavour to oppress their countrymen. This, I believe, is not true. Simpkins, and better folks than he, need not come here, if they are unwilling to put their shoulders to the yoke. I walked round Albion. It contains one house only, and about ten or twelve log-cabins, full of degenerating English mechanics, too idle to work, and above every thing, but eating, drinking, brawling, and fighting. The streets and paths are almost impassable with roots and stumps, and in front of every door is a stinking puddle, formed by throwing out wash and dirty water. A good market-house, and a public library, is at the end, in which a kind of Unitarian worship is held on a Sunday, when a sermon and the church service purified, is read by any one who pleases. The books are donations from the Flower family and their friends in England. By sending donations, people become honorary members, and Mrs. Flower has, by all legal means, secured perpetuity to this institution, which few expect to find in this distant wilderness.’

‘Mr. and Mrs. Doctor Pugsley, late of London, live in the only house, which, if it had a servant, would boast of English comforts, politeness, and hospitality. She sighs to revisit England, where she might see her friends, and rest her delicate hands, now destined to all kinds of drudgery.’ pp. 268—270.

The Flowers own a large and beautiful domain, and say, ‘they have nothing to regret;’ they only wish that more friends would follow. Mr. Birkbeck says, ‘he is happy in his family; but ‘his favourite son Morris, a finished scholar, disliking a ‘rustic life, is about returning to England.’ Wanborough has the advantage of Albion in its appearance of comfort and industry, and in its supply of water. The mansion of Mr. B. is capacious and convenient, with a fine library. ‘Every ‘comfort is found in this abode of the Emperor of the prairies, as he is here called,’ who is enjoying the *otium cum dignitate*, and does not intend to farm much.

‘ “ I had enough of farming for thirty years in England. I came here to rest. It ought not be expected of me, that I should encumber myself with business.” He means to plough two years, and then turn the land into pasture, it being not desirable to have a large surplus produce above what can be consumed by the settlement. But of this there is little fear, as not above six original farmers are yet here.’ p. 283.

In other words, this sage politico-agriculturist has found out, that he can purchase produce cheaper than he can raise it; that farming his prairies does not answer, and that, if it did, there is no market; and now, to conceal his mortification at having written so hastily, he pretends that he came here *to rest*. As if the back country of America was a land for an English gentleman to choose above all others, who wished to *rest*! Both he and Mr. Flower are said to be sinking money fast: their only hope of recovering or increasing their capital, rests on the contingent rise in the value of their land, *which is not the best of its kind*. Trusting to his own judgement, Birkbeck entered indiscriminately good and bad land, much of which will never be worth any thing, when a United States’ surveyor would, for a few dollars, have prevented such a choice. On our Author’s return to Washington, he was introduced to the Hon. Mr. Law, brother of the late lord Chief Justice and the Bishop of Chester, and Birkbeck and Flower became a topic of conversation.

‘ Mr. Law and all present regretted that they did not settle in this or some populous neighbourhood, where they might have lived as the most distinguished citizens, and at a much less cost than now. They might have visited and been visited by the President, and all the heads of departments; had a town and country house, plenty of land increasing in value, and good markets; plenty of comforts of all kinds; farms, houses, orchards, gardens, and every convenience found to their hands, at less than the cost of improvements, so that the land is a gift into the bargain. What madness to go into the wilderness! Their land is not advanced in value by their mere residence on it. They might have invested money in land, in the best western neighbourhoods, and, without sacrificing themselves, their posterity would have reaped the benefit, which must be slow, but which is sure to come with population, and population only. They ought to have known that working Yankee families, who do all the labour themselves, are the only proper pioneers. Gentlemen farmers should not remove into the West, until they can live and do better there than here. At any rate, it is time enough to go, when they can be the third or fourth buyers of farms; when they can have the improvements at less than the cost, and the land nearly into the bargain.’ p. 453.

Some of the working settlers may eventually have no reason

to repent of the exchange of countries they have made. This promises to be the case with the Author of the "Two Years Residence," whom Mr. Faux visited, and describes as a real Nottinghamshire farmer,—'a plain, judicious, industrious man, sensible of the wisdom of his choice.' Not far from him, live a Mr. and Mrs. Bentley from London, who came here with a little property, and, having turned farmers, do all the labour both in the field and the log-house themselves. 'In London, he had the gout, and she was delicate and nervous; but 'milk-ing, fetching water, and all kinds of drudgery in doors and out, have cured her, and ploughing, him. He never, he says, loved her, or she him, half so much as at Illinois.'

Mr. Woods writes in a style answering to this description of his character, and his book is not uninteresting as the best account we have seen, of the topography and natural productions of the country. There is, moreover, no disposition to puff off the settlement. He says very candidly, in the first page:

'As to the propriety of any person's leaving England, I must decline giving any advice on the subject.'

Towards the conclusion, he adds:

'But I do not invite any one to leave England, and come hither; for, although well pleased with the exchange of countries myself, another might not be so. This is not the country for fine gentlemen, or those who live in a grand style, *nor for tradesmen at present*: but hard-working people who are sober, may do well, and settle their families in a plain way.'

'England has the advantage in climate, both in summer and winter.' 'I should like to see the climate of this country more temperate, both in summer and winter, particularly the latter; as the cold is extremely severe, but of short duration. And if we had some running streams, it would be much pleasanter in the summer to us, and more beneficial to the cattle. With regard to water for the stock during the summer, there has been great want of it in some places, as most of the creeks have been dried up. This year great drought has prevailed from the 1st of April to the 20th of August.' 'I hope no one will leave England on account of my being favourable to America, as I should be extremely sorry if any person came here, for any thing I have said in praise of the country, as, perhaps, another might not be so fortunate or so well pleased with it as I am.'

pp. 251, 2; 275—9.

So far Mr. Woods. Mr. Holmes gives the same salutary warning. After pointing out the delusive nature of Mr. Birkbeck's calculations, he says: 'To farmers who are positively determined to emigrate to the United States, and who are

‘ possessed of property, I certainly would recommend some of ‘ the older states.’ Speaking of the climate, he tells us that he once met in a small country town, ‘ an ultra-radical from ‘ Birmingham.’

‘ It was on a Sunday, when Fahrenheit’s thermometer in the shade was as high as 96, and not a breath of air was stirring. The heat at this time was so oppressive, that the Birmingham gentleman began to weep; observing, “that the tyrants of rulers in his own country could be more easily borne, than such tyrannical weather.” ’ p. 135.

‘ I would advise all radicals,’ adds Mr. Holmes, ‘ or those ‘ who have left England from being discontented with the ‘ government, not to utter their complaints to the Americans.’

‘ They may hear with patience, but that is the utmost which can be expected. I was once present when a shoemaker was in company, who had only arrived two days previously in America. Crispin, by his own account, had been a radical; and, no doubt, he thought, that to repair what he considered worn-out constitutions, would be as easy a task as to mend old shoes. He had attended the radical meetings in his native land, for the purpose of benefiting the country by his sage councils, and had not been backward in attempting to make converts in the village to the radical opinions. The parson of the parish, and the church-wardens, being perfectly satisfied with the constitution as it existed both in church and state, admonished Crispin, telling him to mind his work, and let others more fit, mind state affairs: but he spurned at the advice: and what was the consequence? The parson and church-wardens sent for another shoemaker; and as there was not a sufficient number of radicals in the parish to support the former, he determined to sail to the land of freedom. The man was more than half an hour telling his woeful tale; but, instead of commiseration from the company, one of them, a Yankee, said, “It was a good job for the other cobbler.” When any radicals arrive in the United States, I would advise them to say nothing relative to their opinions or complaints: if they address themselves to some of the Americans, they think there is little cause for complaint; if to others, they fear it is some new candidate for office,—and to the number of place-hunters there certainly wants no addition.’ pp. 139, 40.

‘ The English farmer and mechanic find themselves very differently situated in the United States to what they were in England. In the taverns they meet with totally different persons from those with whom they associated in their native country. I once was present when an Englishman at a tavern was endeavouring to amuse the company by singing. He held a glass of Yankee rum-and-water in his hand, and was singing “Dear Tom, this brown jug,—which now foams with mild ale.” When he had concluded, an American, in a dry and quaint manner, said, “I guess you like rum better than beer.” This revived John Bull’s feelings. He recollected the praise which he had received in his own country for this song, and the good ale he had

drunk there. Under highly irritated feelings, he rose, cursing the whiskey, the apple brandy, the Yankee rum, and the sour ale, and the whole country. Such circumstances as these are, and ever will remain, constant subjects of irritation. The Englishman, after meeting with such incidents, returns to his family, venting his spleen against the climate, the people, the country, in short, against every thing American. If he have any females, it is probable their feelings will be in unison; and thus they will be discontented, until by marriages amongst the natives, and the lapse of time, they forget Great Britain.' pp. 135, 36.

To those who wish for further information respecting the United States, bearing on the question of Emigration, we strongly recommend the perusal of Mr. Holmes's volume. It comprises, indeed, on the whole, the best general description of the country, in a small compass, that we have seen, and may be read with interest by all classes of readers. Instead of being, like most works, a desultory journal, it is divided into chapters, containing the results of the Author's observation and inquiry arranged under leading heads. At the same time, the wide range he has taken, renders it necessary to receive some of his statements with great reserve, and to distinguish between what he reports on the ground of his own knowledge, and what he states on hearsay. A man's testimony may be unimpeachable so far as it relates to details that come under his own observation; but his opinions may be too hastily formed, his general statements be built on too partial induction. And we have had abundant proofs of this in the reports brought home from America. Mr. Holmes has shewn his liability to this error, for instance, in venturing on the crude remark, that

'in Great Britain and the United States, where prisons are better conducted, and prisoners treated with more tenderness than in any other part of the world, the commitments generally increase; and we are led to the opinion, disagreeable as it is, that criminals cannot be reclaimed, nor others deterred from giving way to a vicious propensity, excepting by a severity of punishment which humanity deprecates as improper.' p. 422.

The Author is wrong altogether. The treatment of prisoners, as well as the penal laws, differs immensely in the several states. It scarcely differs less widely in various parts of Great Britain. But the *re-commitments* are proved to be *less* frequent in those prisons which are best conducted. The increase of commitments may arise from the increase of population, from the better execution of the laws,—the greater vigilance of the police, together with a more general disposition to prosecute,

and from circumstances of national depression and suffering. In our own country, these causes will, we believe, fully account for any increase in the commitments, while the number of indictments for violent crimes has decreased. In America, crime most abounds where the greatest relaxation both of the laws and of morals exists—in the slave-holding states; and an increase of commitments there would be a favourable omen. Mr. Holmes's conclusion is wholly unreasonable.

But, to recur to the view of the general subject with which we set out, the information which these publications supply, is of great practical value so far as it goes, but they convey no just representation of the state of America. Mr. Holmes's work, though of a general nature, and containing some valuable statistical details, is, on some points, extremely meagre, and of necessity superficial. A person, after reading the tragicomic accounts of the Illinois settlers, and the complaints of the poor disappointed emigrants, is apt to bless himself that he is safe at home, and to feel something approaching to a mixture of horror and contempt at the mention of America. The United States of America, however, stand in no need of English emigrants; but the rapid growth of their political strength and dominion, renders the language of depreciation on the part of Englishmen extremely contemptible. Already their empire extends over nearly 4000 miles of coast on the East, and comprises an area twenty-five times the extent of the British Isles. A century ago, the population did not exceed 270,000 human beings: at the present time, it amounts to nearly 10,000,000; of which amount, above half are inhabitants of the Eastern States. New York alone contains 1,370,000 inhabitants, and its population is rapidly rising. Pennsylvania contains 1,050,600; New England, 1,659,854; and New Jersey, 277,575: total 4,359,699, including 18,000 slaves. Yet, of these States, in which consists the strength, physical and moral, of this vast Republic, little is known. European curiosity has been almost exclusively attracted towards the Western wilds; and, till the appearance of Dr. Dwight's Travels in New England, no work was extant, that gave any correct view of that most interesting section of the New World. The relative importance of the Atlantic States is daily increasing. *They* are the commercial and naval rival of England: *they* are republican America. In the event of a disruption of the Federal Union,—which the extension of the Western territory will probably render, eventually, a necessary measure,—New England and New York, the population of which is even now substantially one people, and whose interests are identified, will form one powerful and compact empire; the most powerful, we appre-

hend, if not the most extensive of the states into which the vast continent may hereafter be divided. Yet these are the *Yankees*, of whom not Quarterly Reviewers at home only, but Virginians and Carolinians affect to speak with contempt, or rather with ill-concealed jealousy. We meet with indications, throughout Mr. Faux's book, of the inveterate prejudice cherished by the inhabitants of the Southern States, against their Eastern countrymen. One poor fellow, a native of Berlin in New York, after undergoing a malicious prosecution in Indiana county, was, on being acquitted, waylaid and flogged 'as a warning and terror to all future coming Yankees.' In walking home through Kentucky, he found the people very inhospitable towards him, 'because he was a walking, working Yankee man on a journey, and therefore considered as nothing better than, or as below, a *nigger*.' One source of this prejudice is, no doubt, the determined hostility of the Eastern States to slavery. But the direct effect of slave-holding is, to bring the character of an industrious working man into contempt.

'The poor whites, or white poor, in Maryland,' says Mr. Faux, 'it is said, scarcely ever work, but send their children to beg, and live on corn-meal and dried fish only. Working is disgraceful in a slave-state, where blacks only work. "Will you work?" "What, work? I'm no negro, I guess." Thanks be given to slavery for this.'

Not only the industry of the Yankees is held in contempt, and their increasing wealth regarded with jealousy, but their religious character provokes the scorn of the Catholics of Maryland, the aristocracy of Virginia, the slave-holders of the South, and the wild men of the West. Hence, the attempt to fasten on the Yankees peculiarly the charge of dishonesty in their transactions, which Englishmen have caught up from the lips of Americans. 'Knavery damns the North, and slavery the South,' is the pithy remark which Mr. Faux picked up at Washington. But our Traveller had never been in the North, except in touching at Boston, and could have obtained no information to justify this opinion. By his own shewing, knavery is not less characteristic of the South, than slavery, and they naturally go together. 'The planters,' said Mr. Law, 'have no feelings in common with the farmers and people of free states.' He added: 'The blacks will free themselves in the South: their resistance and insurrection will be horrid and irresistible; the free states will never stir an inch to oppose the blacks, or assist the planters.' Mr. Law may be a false prophet in this instance, as in his sinister predictions relative to this country, but he must know something of the

existing state of feeling in the American States, and his testimony, therefore, is important. Dr. Dwight says: 'The customs, manners, and morals of the States at the southern and western borders of the Union, are, to a great extent, absolutely unknown in New England; and the stories concerning the inns, the churches, the ministers, the gouging, the horse-racing, the cock-fighting, the gambling, and the great variety of imputations thrown by your tourists on the character of the Americans, are as little applicable to New England as to Old England, and in most instances less.' The laws and internal regulations of the Northern and Southern States, differ scarcely less widely than their customs, morals, and civil interests. Add to which, there still exists, in some parts of the Union, a national distinction perpetuated by a difference of language. This distinction will eventually be obliterated, and the Germans of Pennsylvania, as well as the Frenchmen and Spaniards of the new States, will, in all probability, become Englishmen in their language within less than fifty years. But it will not be so easy to reconcile the moral distinctions which prevent the people of the United States from amalgamating. A common government is not of itself sufficient to make them one nation; and even this bond will, probably, ere long be severed, nor will the seat of government remain much longer at Washington. The word American will, in time, cease to be used in that ignorant and indiscriminate manner in which it is at present employed to designate a population almost as heterogeneous as the European nations; and some new term must be found, more acceptable and well-sounding than Yankee, to distinguish the inhabitants of the compact Atlantic Republic, from the population of that distinct empire which promises to stretch itself from the Alleghany barrier to the Pacific, and to fix its capital on the Mississippi.

What influence the American States are likely to exert on the future destinies of Europe, is a consideration fraught with intense interest; but we can at present merely suggest it as a subject for reflection. Already have they made their voice heard in the Cabinets of Europe. To that continent, at least, no holy father, or holy alliance, can extend the withering despotism which has blighted the nations of the Old World. To those persons who feel any apprehension that Popery will regain its ascendancy, that the Beast will recover its dreadful vitality, the existence of Protestant America must be a source of the most heart-cheering consolation. In this light, it presented itself to the noble band of Emigrants who laid the foundations of their Republic in that distant hemisphere, and taught the wilderness to blossom in a sense which seemed more

than to realize the language of prophecy. It is important also to remark, that the Greek Church, which is becoming the rival of the Latin in the extent of its jurisdiction, corrupt as it is, is essentially anti-papal; and the interests of truth are likely to be promoted by the jealousy and collision of the two Churches. At this moment, the three great powers, England, Russia, North America, to which we may add, Sweden, Prussia, Denmark, Lutheran Germany, and Greece, are anti-Catholic; nor does the most visionary member of the Church of Rome dream, we imagine, that they will ever be brought within its pale. But, if the nascent greatness of the United States is important in an ecclesiastical point of view, it is still more so in relation to the moral interests of society. The influence of their example cannot be extinguished, nor is there any quarantine that can guard the territories of the Absolute Proprietors of Europe against its extending there. The Bourbon and the Muscovite must see with dismay the rising importance of a second England in the West: like the kindling of a second sun in the same hemisphere, the phenomenon

‘with fear of change

Perplexes monarchs.’

Not only so, but there are the fleets of America, if England is found unfaithful to her ancient character and her true interests, to guard the great high-way of the Atlantic against all ambitious intruders, and to dispute with Russia the naval superiority she is fondly aiming at. Backed by such arguments, an American minister will know how, in times not very distant, to make the name of his country respected both in cabinets and at congress; and the Republic which Admiralty hirelings have laboured to render contemptible, may be eventually, if not a formidable rival, no insignificant ally.

Art. VII. 1. *Prison Labour*. Correspondence and Communications addressed to his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, concerning the Introduction of Tread-mills into Prisons, with other Matters connected with the Subject of Prison Discipline. By Sir John Cox Hippisley, Bart. D.C.L. F.R. and A.S. a Benchers of the Inner Temple. 8vo. pp. 228. London. 1823.

2. *Letter to Sir John Cox Hippisley, Bart.* on the Mischiefs incidental to the Tread-Wheel, as an Instrument of Prison Discipline. By John Mason Good, M.D. F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 24. London. 1823.

IT is not a little singular, on what opposite grounds the system advocated by the Prison Discipline Society has been as-

sailed by that very useful class of men, the *objectors*. If we recollect right, it was a *Somersetshire* magistrate who, in the House of Commons, a few sessions ago, deprecated their plans as tending to make gaols too comfortable and attractive. Till very lately, this was the objection, at all events, which they had chiefly to combat. Accordingly, in their Fourth Report (1822), the Committee deemed themselves called upon to repel the charge, by explicitly declaring their opinion, 'that severe punishment must form the basis of an effective system of prison discipline.' At the same time, they as explicitly avowed their conviction, that 'the prevention of crime will never be effected by the influence of fear alone.' But 'a considerable re-action in the public feeling,' Sir John Cox Hippisley tells us, has since ensued; that is to say, this ground of objection has been found untenable; and we have now a *Somersetshire* magistrate and a learned physician charging the 'laudable association' with patronizing a most horrible mode of chastisement, only less dreadful and baneful than the rack and the press-yard;—a machine which, Dr. John Mason Good indignantly remarks, 'subverts the order of nature, making the feet take the place of the hands.' We must, however, explain to our readers that Dr. Good is speaking figuratively. The prisoners do not actually perform in a topsy-turvy position, and stand, as the expression might seem to intimate, on their head or hands, while the feet usurp the ascendancy. But the latter are made to execute the active work, while the hands are reduced to the ignoble office of maintaining the body in equilibrium—thus converting what ought to be a manufactory, into a pedefactory, to the manifest subversion of all order and propriety. These and other weighty objections, which we shall presently notice, Sir John 'felt it to be his duty, as a magistrate and a man, to lay before the Secretary of State for the Home Department and other Cabinet ministers, as well as to transmit copies' of the Correspondence relative to the subject, 'to the Judges of Circuit, and likewise to the Clerks of the Peace of the several Counties of England for the information of the provincial Magistracy.' Mr. Peel, in consequence, as it should seem, of Sir John's communication, directed a letter to be addressed to the Visiting Magistrates of the several gaols and Houses of Correction where treadmills had been introduced, requesting information as to whether any injurious effects had been produced by the machinery. All the returns contained answers *in the negative*. Upon which, Sir John issues this book, and Dr. Good this extract from the same, in the more readable form of a tract.

The facts on which Sir John rests his objections, are, in substance, these :

I. That, if the Tread-wheels are over-loaded, the shafts may break, and throw the prisoners on their backs.

II. That it is very hard work, resembling treading up hill on tiptoe.

III. That it makes the prisoners perspire, and consequently induces thirst, especially in warm weather.

IV. That it threatens to strain the organs and muscles immediately called into exercise.

V. That, by such over-exertion, peculiar complaints may be induced in the female prisoners.

VI. That labour ' of a like description,' as that of Mariners, Miners, and Masons' labourers, has a tendency to produce ruptures and varicose veins.

VII. That, therefore, persons ' under ruptures or consumptions,' ought not to be put to the Tread-wheel.

VIII. That '*the unhappy culprits have a horror of the Mill.*'

IX. That, as it is not proper for consumptive or ruptured persons, or for females, it ' cannot or ought not to be exercised ' over more than one half of the delinquents,' and therefore is not worth being erected for the other half.

X. That the beggar, the poacher, the shop-lifter, and the house-breaker ought not to be put to the same hard work, or be placed ' under the dominion' of the said wheel, without regard to their respective gradations of delinquency, or to their feelings.

XI. That the Tread-mill does not answer the purpose of ' hard prison labour.'

XII. That the Hand-crank mill is '*susceptible*' of being so improved as ' to appear to offer a considerable approach to the ' desirable object' of being made an unexceptionable substitute for the Tread-wheel.

Now, of these incontrovertible facts, it is a little surprising that a Doctor of Laws and Benchers of the Inner Temple should not have perceived, that No. 1 proves only that the wheel ought not to be overloaded ; that Nos. 3, 5 & 7, apply equally to *all* descriptions of hard labour ; that Nos. 2, 4, and 6 are but the same objection differently put,—a medical objection founded on the alleged tendency of the exertion ; that No. 8 is an argument in favour of the Tread-wheel ; that No. 9 is a mere assertion, built on a mis-statement ; that No. 10 applies as much to the hand-crank mill, so far as regards the ' one ' *kind* of labour' being inflicted on rogues of different professions ; that No. 11 is in direct contradiction to No. 8, and is, moreover, a begging of the question ; and that No. 12 is

nothing to the purpose. If our readers will but glance again at Sir John's 'weighty positions,' we think that they will agree with us, that his twelve objections may be summed up in this one: That, in common with other kinds of labour, such as that of mariners, miners, &c. who have to tread ladders, the tread-wheel has a tendency to produce ruptures and varicose veins, besides endangering in women the usual consequences of over-exertion. Now, as this is a medical objection, resting, as we shall presently see, not on experience, but mainly on hypothesis, we may, without disrespect to Sir John Cox Hippisley, either as a Doctor of civil law or as a magistrate, dismiss him for the present, and call for the evidence of his medical authority, Dr. Good. Speaking of his impression on his first visit to the Tread-mill, Dr. G. says:

'From the tortuous attitude and uneasy motion manifestly displayed in mounting the endless hill of this mighty cylinder, upon the toes alone, with the hands fixed rigidly on the horizontal bar, and the body bent forward to lay hold of it, I could not but conclude, not only that the prisoner is hereby deprived of all the healthful advantage of athletic exercise, but must be fatigued from the outset, and perpetually in danger (and with this limitation I expressed myself) of cramp, breaking the Achilles tendon, and forming aneurismal and varicose swellings in the legs; and that if females were to be worked at the wheel, the same common cause of irksome and distressing exertion, operating on the loins and many of the abdominal muscles, must, of necessity, in various instances, accelerate the period of menstruation; and even where it does not force it forward before its proper time, render it excessive, and lay a foundation for many of the most serious chronic maladies with which the female structure can be afflicted. And on all these accounts I ventured to recommend the Hand-Crank-Mill, in preference to the Tread-Mill, as affording a far more natural attitude, and hence, a far more healthy exercise; in which the greater number, if not the whole, of these predicted evils might be avoided, muscles of the utmost importance to public industry, be called into action, and strengthened against future labour, and the prisoner be hereby far better, instead of invariably far less, prepared for a variety of handicraft trades, than before he was sentenced to confinement.'

'In the Cold Bath Fields Prison itself, I found, upon close inquiry, that the prisoners frequently complained of stiffness and numbness in their hands, of pains in their loins and in their legs, and that they were thrown into a profuse perspiration, and so completely exhausted in the course of a single round, or quarter of an hour's task work, as to induce them to drink very largely of cold water as soon as the fifteen minutes were completed, although it is calculated that this uphill exercise does not exceed the average of two miles in six hours, and consequently does not amount to half a quarter of a mile in the course of the fifteen minutes to which the task-time extends; evi-

dently proving, that it is the nature of the labour, its quality and not its quantity, that occasions such violent effects, and constitutes the terror with which the Tread-Wheel is contemplated. At this visit also, it was not concealed from me, nor from my professional friend, Mr. Cole, who accompanied me, that, in consequence of the nature of the exertion, prisoners labouring under consumption, rupture, or a tendency to rupture, are exempted from working, out of a prudent regard to the mischief which might follow, under such circumstances.

There is one morbid effect, however, which it appears to myself and others that the Tread-Wheel endangers, of which we have no example in the Reports before us, and that is, *aneurismal*, *varicose*, and *nodulous tumours* in the vessels of the lower limbs. But these are in almost every instance of slow growth, and hence are only to be expected in those who have been sentenced to the Wheel for a much longer period than the average term of its general establishment; and I should on this account have been more surprised at meeting with actual instances of it, at present, than at finding none have occurred. The anticipation, however, of such in long-worked culprits has as firm a basis both in physiology and pathology as that of any of the preceding maladies; and the disease will as assuredly make its appearance wherever there is a sufficient opportunity for its growth and maturity, and especially where there is a diathesis leading to this effect. A very respectable practitioner, in his Report upon the subject, has ventured to assert the contrary, and to express a belief that "the kind and degree of exercise made use of," on the Tread Mill, instead of producing, would most probably prevent any such disease. But this is to give the machine a salutary power of which I am persuaded he will never avail himself in his private practice. All severe pressure or over-exertion of the vessels of the lower extremities have a tendency to induce these affections, and particularly *varices*, the column of the veins giving way in those parts that are weakest; and, as I have already observed, the cure or the prevention being alone accomplished by giving ease, rest, and support to the weakened organ, instead of by urging it to fresh labour. And hence, as your correspondence will be found very sufficiently to establish, this disease, like rupture, is chiefly to be met with among persons that are habitually engaged in such up-hill labours as make the nearest approach to that of the Tread-Mill, as those of sailors, thatchers, miners, and bricklayers' hod-men. But in none of these have we so much reason to expect ultimately varicose swellings of the legs as in the workers at the Tread-Wheel; for in all the former the periods of climbing are sooner over, and consequently the labour is more equally divided between different sets of muscles. The miner reaches and rests upon the surface of the earth, the hod-carrier upon the scaffold, the seamen upon the yard-arm, or platform of the mast, and the Thatcher upon the ladder itself: while the worker at the Tread-Wheel has no rest or relaxation whatever till his assigned period of climbing is fulfilled; again, mechanically resuming his task, as his

turn comes round, and persevering in the same manner from day to day.'

In these paragraphs, our readers have the substance of Dr. Good's allegations respecting the mischiefs incidental to the Tread-Wheel. His objections may be classed under three heads: 1. accidents to which the prisoners are liable; 2. the excessive exertion occasioned by the nature of the labour; 3. the ultimate tendency of the employment to produce maladies of slow growth.

Under the head of accidents, we must first notice the casualties arising from the giving way of the machinery, on which Sir John so repeatedly insists. Four accidents, it seems, of this nature have occurred in Cold Bath Fields House of Correction since the erection of the machinery. 'Numerous very severe sprains and bruises' are stated by Sir John to have been the result, though 'hitherto nothing more serious has occurred.' (p. 92, note.) 'No severe or protracted accident,' says Dr. Good, 'occurred in either instance.' (p. 99.) If, in four accidents, by each of which twenty-seven individuals were thrown off, no severe accident occurred, we cannot but think that the danger must be somewhat magnified. Nevertheless, were there no possibility of obviating such occurrences, we admit that the alleged danger would form a serious objection. But the fact is, that in no other prison, so far as we can learn, has any such accident occurred. These accidents have all arisen from the defective construction of the machinery, or from its mismanagement, in one particular instance. In the Edinburgh prison, half of the semi-diameter of the wheel is sunk into the ground, so that a prisoner slipping off the tread would sustain no injury. Of this fact, Sir John and his physician are aware, and of the possibility, therefore, of obviating entirely the risk of casualties of this description. But what is their answer?

'Of such improvements it may truly be said with Dr. Good, that "what is founded on an essentially wrong principle, no modification can right." It must be recollected that the objection taken to the Tread-Mills, so far as noticed by Dr. Good and the undersigned, was with reference to the inspection of those at Cold Bath Fields.'

p. 160.

But, as it was urged as an objection to Tread-mills generally, this has too much the appearance of a disingenuous evasion. Sir John has placed it in front of the incontrovertible facts submitted to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, that there is an 'insuperable difficulty' in constructing a tread-wheel that shall not be liable to such perilous accidents; and now he tells us, that were this main

objection obviated, it would make little or no difference in the matter. But, to return to Dr. Good.

The next class of accidents are such as cramp, breaking the Achilles tendon, aneurismal and varicose swellings, &c. Of these, the prisoners are represented as being in perpetual danger. Consequently, as these are not chronic affections, which may require years before they fully develop themselves, we should imagine that the returns must exhibit the proofs of such danger in the shape of accidents, if Dr. Good's apprehensions are well founded. But the returns one and all declare, that *no* injurious effects of this description have been produced on the bodies or legs of the prisoners by this species of labour. At Reading, a case of rupture occurred, occasioned by a violent fit of coughing, which, the surgeon to the gaol is of opinion, 'would in all probability have happened independent of the exertion on the Mill.' At Dorchester, a few of the female prisoners are reported by the surgeon to have been 'subjected to certain complaints incidental to women, more than usual, the consequence (in his opinion) of the exertion *and exposure to cold*.' At Lancaster, a prisoner in a diseased state of body had a degree of inflammation induced by the exercise. But not one case has occurred of cramp, aneurism, snapping the tendon, or any other mischief of the specific kind which the nature of the labour is said by Dr. Good to have a constant tendency to produce. At Bedford, the average number of prisoners employed at the Discipline mill had been about thirty, and 212 had undergone the discipline for the whole term of their respective sentences, varying from two weeks to twelve months. The visiting magistrates had watched the effect with scrupulous attention, and they express their conviction, that no injurious result had arisen either to the general health, or to the body, or to the limbs of the prisoners. Thomas Lovesy, a convict who had been regularly kept to hard labour on the Tread-wheel for twelve months, on being examined by the magistrates the day before his discharge, stated,

'That he has enjoyed perfect health during the whole period of his year's hard labour at the Tread-mill; that he has never felt any pain in the loins or shoulders, or in the tendons near the heel; that he has experienced no numbness of hands or arms; that he has never heard any complaints from his fellow convicts, except that when some of them first began to labour on the wheel in their high shoes, the stepping galled their ancles, but that after they put on proper shoes, no inconvenience was experienced by them.'

The Surgeon to the Devon House of Correction, after reporting that no case of injury had occurred, or, in his opinion,

could arise, except from wilful negligence of the individual, adds, as the result of his inquiry, that, after a few days' work on the Tread-mill, the muscles of the legs, thighs, and back, become habituated to it, so that the employment ceases to be a punishment. And the case is mentioned in the same Report, of a young woman, who used to go on with her knitting while on the Wheel. Dr. Good, however, denies that habit will have any effect in rendering the work easier or less trying. The general law of the animal economy, by which the organs acquire strength by being called into exercise, is 'limited,' he says, 'to such employment as they are naturally fitted for.' Now, as our legs were never designed for the exercise in question, it is 'a gross mistake' to imagine that a person could ever acquire facility in executing so 'unnatural and tortuous an action.' This is a very important remark, because it applies to other modes of tortuous and unnatural action besides that required by the Tread-wheel. Some of our readers may have found, on first repairing to the sea-side or to a hilly country, that the unwonted process of climbing the heights, produced a pain in the calf of the leg, a shortness of breath, excessive perspiration, or, it may be, left a stiffness about the loins; and they possibly have been so imprudent as to persist in this unnatural exercise, under the mistaken idea that use would mitigate these distressing and alarming symptoms. Nay, they may even have fancied that such an effect really took place; that it fatigued them less, occasioned less perspiration and loss of breath, left no sensation of cramp or uneasiness about the loins, after they had for a few days accustomed their muscles to the tortuous action. But this has been, on their parts, a gross mistake; and had they but known what risk they ran of aneurism, varicose veins, snapping the tendon Achilles, ruptures, spitting of blood, &c. they would never have walked up hill, or run up hill again. 'The first mischievous influence,' Sir John Cox Hippisley's physician would have informed them, 'will not be recovered from by a repetition, but will go on from worse to worse, till some one or other of those maladies are actually produced, to which such exercise predisposes from its earliest use.' (p. 102.)

But Doctors differ. Sir Gilbert Blane, on being applied to by Dr. Good for his opinion, drily remarks, that he knows of no solid objection to Dr. G's physiological reasonings, except that they are mere theory, and that 'theory is *always fallacious till tested by experience*.'

'Perhaps,' adds Sir Gilbert, '*the power of habit has not been sufficiently adverted to as a principle of marvellous efficacy in renovating both the mind and body in untoward circumstances*. Might it

not also be asked, whether there are not many species of labour necessary for carrying on the useful and necessary acts (arts) of life, in which the virtuous and innocent members of the State are engaged, much more injurious to their health than the Tread-Mill? p. 125.

This hint of Sir Gilbert's is, however, lost on his Correspondent; for, as to 'the power of habit,' Sir Gilbert has evidently fallen into the gross mistake above referred to,—a mistake proceeding altogether, as Dr. Good assures us, from 'a wrong application of a right principle.' Habit can never, it seems, render it easier for a man to mount a ladder, tread on tiptoe, or climb the ropes of a vessel to the mast-head, because for such actions men are 'not naturally fitted.' Hence, the Tread-mill is a most unchristian mode of discipline.

The second class of objections relates to the effects of over-exertion. For, though an attempt is made to hold up ruptures, spitting of blood, loss of flesh, female complaints, &c. as peculiarly resulting from the specific action of the limbs in the tread-mill, Dr. Good will not deny, that over-exertion of any kind would produce the same effects. The last-mentioned result, he is well aware, would be caused by over-fatigue from mere walking or dancing; and ruptures more frequently take place in consequence of *manual* and dorsal exertions, than of any other species of labour. The Surgeon to the Truss Society represents the average number of individuals afflicted with hernia among the labouring classes, as one (male) in six. We consider this to be much over-stated; but it must be admitted as a proof that the labouring classes, whatever be their employment, are very liable to this complaint. Yet, of all the hundreds who have been subjected to the discipline of the Tread-mill, not one individual has suffered any such injury, except in the case where rupture was produced by a violent fit of coughing. The presumption is, therefore, that the labour of the Tread-mill is less calculated to occasion ruptures, than the carrying of loads, and various descriptions of labour in which the majority of the lower classes are occupied. Indeed, a 'physician of the highest reputation' at Dublin, gives it as his opinion, that the *Crank exercise*, for which Sir John and his Physician so warmly contend, 'may distress the lumbar muscles and kidneys, and threaten rupture as much as the Tread-mill.' (p. 151). With reference to which apprehension, Sir John has only to reply, 'That the system of regulation and the improvements proposed for the Crank machinery, will obviate objections of this kind, derived as they are from its ordinary action, and probably under a careless superintend-
'ance.' Here, then, it is admitted, that the ordinary action of

the Crank-mill endangers the occurrence of the very mischiefs charged exclusively on the Tread-mill, which mischiefs have, in fact, never been known to occur. Dr. Good, however, denies that the Hand-crank mill is likely to induce any such complaint; and he adduces, in support of this denial, the testimony of two surgeons. Mr. Copeland thinks *Hernia and Varices* 'much more likely' to be produced by the labour of the Tread-mill, than by that of the Hand-crank mill; an opinion reasonable enough as regards the latter complaint, and the coupling the two together takes off all the force of his opinion; though it amounts, at most, to no more than this, that such diseases are likely to be produced by both species of labour, but that probabilities are in favour of the Crank-mill. Mr. Macelwain simply states, that those modes of labour which call alternately into action different sets of muscles, are the best adapted to promote health and strength; which general opinion is really little or nothing to the purpose. And these are Dr. Good's authorities.

But we must not pass over the *sarcophagous* effects of this monstrous machine. The Lancaster magistrates, desirous of ascertaining the effects of the Tread-mill on the general health of the prisoners, gave directions to have them weighed, in order to ascertain the average gain or loss of flesh produced by the labour; or, in the more ornate phrase of Dr. Good, 'by putting this slow and snail-paced labour to the test of a pair of scales, which have been employed as a direct *sarcometer*, to determine the amount of struggle between the living powers of human flesh, and the destroying powers of the Tread-wheel.' The result was as follows:

'From Feb. 10 to Feb. 19. working 7 hours each day, 11lb. 7 oz. gain per man.

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Feb. 19 to Mar. 4 | 9 hours | ½ oz. gain. |
| Mar. 4 to Mar. 25 | 10½ | 1 lb. loss. |
| Mar. 25 to April 28 | <i>ditto</i> | 2½ lb. loss. |
| April 28 to May 26 | 10 hours | 1 lb. 8 oz. gain. |

'There has been no alteration in diet. The prisoners have been kept solely on the prison allowance. As far as my experience goes, I am of opinion that the employment is very healthy, and I have not observed that this species of labour has had the slightest tendency to produce any specific complaint.' p. 49.

These are the observations of the Keeper. Upon this curious fact, Dr. Good indignantly remarks:

'Now what other labour under the sun, short of that of *actual torture*, to which men have ever been condemned, or in which they ever can engage, in the open air, has produced, or can be conceived to pro-

duce, such a loss of flesh and blood as that before us; where the rate of progression, whether up hill, down hill, or on level ground, does not exceed two miles for the entire day, and the labourer has to carry no bag of tools or weight of any kind?

What the rate of progression has to do with the question, we cannot perceive: but we should really be glad to know, *what* species of *hard labour* continued for 10½ hours per day, the workmen being kept on prison allowance, would not occasion a loss of flesh. Yet, this he terms the *experimentum crucis*! The prisoners, when over-worked, lost flesh; when the period of labour was shortened but half an hour, they recovered flesh faster than they had lost it. In the first instance, however, not only was no inroad made on the living principle, but they increased in weight as the result of this very species of labour, which is represented as coming short only of actual torture!!

But we hasten to notice the third class of mischiefs, those maladies of slow growth which the Tread-mill has an ultimate tendency to produce. Dr. Good, weary at last, as it should seem, of being questioned, loses all patience when he comes to speak on this point. 'There is no end,' he says, 'to answering all the follies and caprices to which the Tread-mill must give rise from its intrinsic demerit.' Then, after the remarks already cited on subverting the order of nature, the Dr. thus proceeds.

'The question which, I understand, is very often put forth, whether any of the maladies that are predicted so freely and confidently by medical practitioners against the Tread-Mill have anywhere yet taken place, is at first sight plausible: but it is nothing more, for it will not bear reflecting upon for a single moment. In the case of women, the mischievous effects have been actually proved: and hence at this moment, the Tread-Mill, as I am told, is abandoned at Cold-bath Fields, as far as relates to them. For the same reason it is equally abandoned as to all those who have ruptures or hydroceles, or an obvious tendency to such. But by far the greater number of the predicted evils are such as could not have taken place from the shortness of the time the machines have been at work in any prison; but which, to the eye of the pathologist, are as certain as if they were at this moment in full force. Such, I mean, as lumbago, weakness of the kidneys, cramps, rheumatisms, and stiff joints of all kinds, as well of the hands from an uniformly fixed position, as of the legs and feet. These are all chronic affections, and may require years before they fully develop themselves. How long is it after the liver is first affected, before the structure of the organ becomes, in many cases, seriously injured, or the general health destroyed! The poison of lead is often operating for years upon painters, before their limbs and bowels are rendered paralytic; and the worn-out husband-

man that is bent double with cramp and rheumatism, is never attacked suddenly, but slowly and insidiously. Yet in all these cases the discerning physician beholds the result as clearly from the first, and before a single complaint is uttered, or even felt, as when the mischief has worked itself into maturity.' pp. 106, 7.

We have heard it remarked, that tea is a slow poison,—so slow that it takes from sixty to seventy years to develop its fatal effect on the system. We suspect that the chronic affections produced by the Tread-mill, will require a period scarcely short of this, in order to their development. It is some satisfaction, however, to find, that they are not of a more formidable nature than those to which the old age of the husbandman is subject. The reformed convict, therefore, when he feels the lumbago tugging at his loins as the sad remembrancer of a twelve month's apprenticeship to the Tread-mill some thirty or forty years before, may console himself that he would have come off no better, had he spent his youthful strength at the plough. Cramps, rheumatisms, and paralysis, are, alas! among the ordinary ills that flesh is heir to; and we seriously doubt whether the Hand-crank mill itself, in its most improved state, will ever present an efficient security against such chronic affections among the labouring classes. If 'the discerning physician who beholds the result as clearly from the first' as any second-sighted seer of the North, can really promise so much for the said crank-mill, we should deprecate its introduction into prisons as, in effect, a bounty upon crime. What! are the honest and industrious to be exposed to ruptures, cramps, lumbago, poisoning, in following their respective callings, and shall the only species of labour which presents a security and antidote against all such acute attacks or chronic diseases, be confined to houses of correction? How manifestly must this tend to make gaols and reformatories attractive to the commonalty!

But are there no chronic affections which the discerning physician sees are likely to be called into action by the labour of the Hand-crank mill? Are there no specific complaints induced by 'the healthful and vigorous acts of thrusting, pulling, heaving, and bearing burdens,' to which the manual labour of the crank-mill is stated to be analogous? How comes Dr. Good to have overlooked this question? The fact is, that apoplexy, hæmoptysis, aneurism of the aorta, the carotid and subclavian arteries, (diseases of a far more dangerous kind,) are more likely to occur in the discipline of the Hand-crank mill, than aneurismal or varicose swellings, or sanguinous discharges in the Treadmill exercise. In the case of consumptive persons,

we should deem the latter the safest mode of labour ; and ruptures are certainly not less endangered by violent muscular action of the upper limbs, than by the labour of the treadmill. Dr. Good says, that ‘ by the rotatory action of the cranks, the prisoner will render his joints more lithe and plastic than ever, and may, perhaps, call many muscles into action, and employ them with ease, whose existence he has never before dreamed of.’ The frequent use of the feet is quite as likely to give the performer a knowledge of muscles whose action he never before dreamed of, as the frequent use of the hands: to deny the effect of exercise and habit in the one case, and to insist upon it in the other, is absurd and contradictory. As to the horror in which the Tread-mill is said to be held, those who know any thing of the character of the persons for whose special use it is intended, will sufficiently understand why nine or ten hours’ hard labour should be regarded by such persons with dread and dislike, without having recourse to images of terror and torture. Hard labour will never be rendered palatable to those whose idleness has led them into crime, not even by the Hand-crank mill itself. Both modes of discipline may be advantageously employed. Both may become objectionable when pushed to excess. The dispute respecting them seems very much like raising a question as to which is the best exercise, dancing or dumb-bells. Either, we should say, may be hurtful, while both are good in moderation. Sir John Cox Hippisley is too grave a person to dance ; it would be natural that he should prefer the dumb-bells. And were he to apply to his physician for his opinion on the subject, Dr. Good would doubtless deprecate as an absurdity, a scheme of exercise in which, ‘ while the feet perform all the labour, the hands and the arms are in utter idleness.’ Dancing, he might say, ‘ produces cramp, profuse perspiration, weariness, thirst, endangers snapping the Achilles tendon, varicose swellings, and what not. For such tortuous attitudes the limbs were never designed : it is a most unnatural exercise. And what chronic affections such ‘ tiptoe mirth’ has been the means of developing, is too well known to be insisted on. No ; what is wanted is, an exercise that shall call into alternate action different sets of muscles, by the ‘ double labour of hand and leg ;’ if, therefore, a man chooses to dance, let him dance on all fours.

We think the public are much indebted to Sir John and Dr. Good for bringing forward all their ingenious objections. It is most desirable that such a subject should receive a full discussion ; and we repeat, that we know no class of men much more useful than the objectors. We respect most highly Sir John’s well-meant perseverance, and applaud Dr. Good’s in-

trepidity of opinion. They will, we trust, take our freedom in good part, and give us credit for sincerity when we say, that they have made out the best case they could *versus* the Treadmill, and if they fail in carrying their point, it is not their fault as counsel. We have done our duty in summing up the evidence, and leave our readers to agree on the verdict.

Art. VIII. *Report of the Proceedings of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, in the Case of Principal M'Farlane.* 8vo. pp. 84. Glasgow. 1823.

IN our last Number, we briefly explained the circumstances of this interesting case, in noticing the Speeches delivered before the Presbytery of Glasgow, on the motion for inducting Dr. M'Farlane into the ministry of the High Church. On the 5th of October, the business came before the Synod, Dr. M'Farlane having appealed against the sentence of the Presbytery; when, after the minutes and other preliminary matter had been gone through, Mr. Patrick Robertson, an advocate from Edinburgh retained on the part of the appellant, opened the proceedings. In a somewhat dexterous speech, he contended, that the Presbytery had nothing to do, when a presentation was laid before them, but 'admit whosoever was offered to them, being properly qualified,' and that the statute which bound them so to do, prohibited all discussions. He represented them as having defied the General Assembly, and went so far as to affirm, that, were such principles generally acted upon, there would be an end of all law. This language was sufficiently plain, and, one would have thought, not very palatable to the ministers of John Knox's Kirk. But the speech was warmly eulogized by Drs. Taylor and Ranken, the latter of whom warned the court against listening to speeches on the opposite side. 'There is a great tendency in man,' he said, 'to take umbrage at the laws as they stand. In fact, it is in human nature, to find fault with God himself: "The carnal mind is enmity against God."' Thus, politely intimating that, in refusing to induct Dr. M'Farlane, the Presbytery had acted in rebellion against God and man. This was standing up for Divine right and passive obedience with a vengeance; but, as it involved a most scandalous aspersion on the Presbytery, the speaker was very properly called to order by Dr. M'Gill, who, with Mr. Burns and Dr. Chalmers, had signed the official Reply to Dr. M'Farlane's Appeal. After some confusion, occasioned by a sage intimation from a Mr. Fleming, that he who called a person to order, ought to be turned out,

which drew down loud and long hisses from the galleries. Dr. Ranken finished his speech. He was followed by a Mr. Lapslie, who taxed the Presbytery with ingratitude to the King, in refusing to induct his Presentee, after the King's family had been so kind to the College of Glasgow. The reverend Gentleman expressed his opinion that the discussion had already been most hurtful to religion. 'In England,' said he, 'we all know what dreadful consequences are produced from rash speeches.' And then the said Mr. Lapslie, with great vehemence of gesticulation, suiting the action to the word, invoked the name of God Almighty not very reverently, in venting his hope that 'the speeches might turn out to good.' In conclusion, the reverend gentleman vindicated himself from being an enemy to the Church of Scotland. 'I,' said he, '*who opposed the introduction of the organ*, shall I be called an enemy of the Church of Scotland? I,' &c. &c. On the conclusion of this ludicrous tirade, the Moderator called upon the Presbytery for reply. Dr. M'Gill then rose. He shewed that the circumstance on which the whole case rested, had been carefully kept out of view.

'It was not because Dr. M'Farlane was without pastoral qualification, but because, from the peculiar circumstance in which he was placed, he was disqualified *in hoc statu*; and it was for the principle of the thing—from a determination on the part of the Presbytery, to resist the absolute power of patrons in attempting to force Presentees upon them, that the Presbytery had acted.'

The loud cheers from the audience which this manly declaration drew forth, explain the imbecile apprehensions expressed by the preceding speakers, relative to speeches from the other side. Dr. M'Gill's argumentative address will not admit of detached extracts: it is temperate, manly, and eloquent. Dr. Chalmers followed, and boldly maintained the independence of the Presbytery.

'If,' said he, 'the right of presentation be enough, why not put forth the ultimatum of the law? Why send a few of their eloquent pleaders from the Parliament House? Why send one of their best and most talented orators to plead this cause? Why not rather send from the metropolis a party of huzzars from the castle, to bring to order this refractory Presbytery, these refractory ecclesiastics—and perhaps seize a few of the ringleaders?'

'I abominate,' continued he, 'the paltry and pusillanimous argument that has been put in the learned Advocate's mouth—disrespectful to the king! Why, his majesty well knows, that the Presbytery of Scotland is eminently loyal to his throne—he well knows, that a feeling of deep loyalty is by no means hostile to one of deep religion—and, while all Scotland is looking on, during this painful proceed-

ing, his majesty well knows, that while every heart is panting, and every mouth repeating "God bless him!" an equal sensation of devotedness to their religion and its purity, their church and its independence, is actuating all bosoms. (Cheers with difficulty repressed.) The only thing his majesty could feel displeased at, was, that his name should be used as a scare-crow to terrify the Church from doing its duty. It was an attempt to fasten a political odium upon those who supported his side of the question; who thought that pluralities were wrong, but who were as leal-hearted as the learned and honourable Principal could by possibility be. This is a mere bugbear to frighten children. It smells of feudalism all over. Were it known with what fond interest all Scotland is now looking on the discussion before us, and how dearly her people love the Church which is planted among them, sovereignty would smile complacently. The Rev. Dr. concluded by hoping, that the warmth of discussion had not betrayed him into expressions which would hurt the feelings of any gentleman present.' pp. 56, 57.

After Mr. Muir had spoken on the same side, Mr. P. Robertson replied; the parties then retired from the bar. Several ministers now shortly delivered their opinion, and Mr. Burns, in conclusion, addressed the Moderator at considerable length. We must make room for the opening and concluding paragraphs of this admirable address.

' "Moderator—I am not one of those who entertain fears as to the probable results of such a discussion as the present. I know of no bad effects which have as yet flowed from it, either in regard to the parties more immediately interested, or in regard to the public at large. A great deal has indeed been said by the speakers on the opposite side, about 'popular clamour' being excited; and we have been told, that the whole population of the west has been kept in a kind of 'ferment,' or 'combustion.' It is true, that whatever powerfully affects the public good, or the interests of individuals, must necessarily produce a deep impression on the general feeling, and men *must* feel strongly, according to their private prepossessions, and the convictions of their conscience and judgment. But, Sir, we live in a free country; and free discussion, on points affecting the best interests of the country, can never be injurious in the end; and all great public measures must be preceded by enlarged freedom of discussion.

' "Nor can I see any evil as likely to result from the publication of the sentiments of the different speakers on both sides of the argument. A most extraordinary doctrine has indeed been taught us this evening; that it is illegal, unbecoming, and altogether improper for any member of the inferior courts to allow his sentiments to reach the eye of the public, through the medium of the press, *until* the supreme court has given its decision on the question. Who ever heard of such a doctrine in the procedure of any court, civil or ecclesiastical? Is it possible to prevent the publication of our sentiments? or would any good end be saved by the attempt to do so? And if they must be

published, why not have them published in the most correct and finished form? In the case of that publication which has been so often alluded to, if there be any blame attached to any quarter, it attaches to the speakers on both sides of the argument; for it is well known, that the most important articles contained in that work, were furnished, at the request of the publishers, by the authors respectively; and I humbly submit, that the public and the church have been indebted, both to the publishers and the authors, for such a valuable addition to their means of judging on the points at issue in the controversy.' pp. 69, 70.

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“ The Church of Scotland, Sir, has not many offices, either of literature or of emolument, to bestow on her members; and to bestow a plurality on one individual, without any substantial ground of necessity or expediency, does not seem to be either economical or reasonable. The recorded opinion of the *whole Presbytery of Glasgow* on this point, is decisive, and under that opinion, I, for one, do most heartily concur.

“ Have we been told, that even to *meddle* with the question at issue, and to *doubt* the omnipotence of a presentation, is ‘*disrespectful to the Crown?*’ And has not the humblest individual in our land, rights and privileges of which no power can denude him, and to assert and maintain which, is his unalienable prerogative? And has the Church of Scotland no rights or privileges which it is her *bounden duty* and that of all her sons to vindicate and maintain? ‘*Disrespectful to the Crown!*’ Sir;—And was the *Presbytery of Ayr* guilty of acting disrespectfully to the crown, when a few years ago they inducted Mr. Hill into the church of Dailly, not on the royal presentation, which they set aside, but on their own *jus desolutum* which they had acquired precisely *two days* before?—A presentation does not carry omnipotence along with it. The trust which it presupposes as vested in those who issue it, is a most sacred and responsible trust; and it is guarded at once by the arm of salutary law, and by the collected sentiment of the Church. To deny this, would be to endanger the independence of our establishment, and to wound the very vitals of her frame.

“ Thus, Moderator, whether we look at the question through the light of the word of God—or through the medium of ecclesiastical statutes and usages—or in connection with views of sound policy and expediency, we are constrained to draw the inference, that such an union as that contemplated, is utterly at variance with a due regard to the general interests of the church at large, and the special claims of the people committed to our charge.” pp. 81, 82.

On its being put to the vote, whether the sentence of the Presbytery should be reversed or affirmed, the numbers were, for Reverse 35—for Affirm 40—Majority 5. The result was followed by three rounds of applause from the galleries. Mr. Graham, on behalf of Dr. M'Farlane, entered a protest, and the question will now be settled by the General Assembly.

Art IX. 1. *The Influences of the Holy Spirit : considered with special Reference to the Circumstances of the present Times.* 8vo. pp. 48. London. 1823.

2. *The Example and Success of primitive Missionaries.* A Sermon preached before the London Missionary Society. By the Rev. William Chaplin. 8vo. pp. 32. Price 1s. London. 1823.

ALTHOUGH the titles of these two publications refer to somewhat different subjects, the following passage from Mr. Chaplin's excellent sermon will shew, that we have not without propriety placed them together as bearing on the same important topic,—the necessity of connecting a dependence on Divine Influence with practical exertion. Mr. Chaplin has taken for his text, Mark xi. 20. "The Lord working with "them," &c. Under the second division of the discourse, he considers, 'the Divine concurrence with the labour of the 'primitive Missionaries.'

' But what is the nature of that influence which is thus referred to? Without entering upon regions of abstruse inquiry, or wishing to be wise above what is written, we may here remark that all influence must, in its nature, correspond to the object influenced and the effect produced. After human labour has been employed in tilling the earth, and sowing the seed, we soon perceive the corn to appear, and it continues to grow until the harvest. This surprising effect from so little a cause, we attribute to the pervading influence of the God of nature upon the properties of nature, and this we call Providence. The influence of Providence in this case, although not to be accurately defined by us, is evidently adapted in its nature to the process, and to the result. But when the process is of a moral kind, and the result produced is analogous to it; when it is *mind* that is influenced, and truth is the instrument employed, and spiritual qualities are the produce; then it is reasonable to distinguish between the influence of Providence, and the influence of Grace; between the divine operations upon matter, and the divine operations upon the soul. This latter we are taught to consider as the saving work of the Holy Spirit, and by this the Lord is graciously pleased to work with his servants, when the preaching of the gospel is rendered the means of conversion and salvation. "I will pour," said he of old, "upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications. And I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them." So the Redeemer prayed for his disciples, "Sanctify them through thy truth." And the Apostle Paul connects the "sanctification of the spirit," with the "belief of the truth."

' Nor is it a matter of little importance whether we regard or forget this essential doctrine. God hath said, "Them that honour me I will honour." And I believe this is exemplified in nothing more than in the honour we pay to the work of the Divine Spirit. The

wafting gales are not more necessary to the voyager, than are the celestial influences to the christian, the minister, and the missionary. And if no man was ever absurd enough to expect to sail across the ocean without the winds of heaven, let us not be guilty of the greater absurdity of expecting success in the work of the Lord, without the Lord working with us. "Without me," saith Christ, "ye can do nothing."—It must then, my brethren, be considered as your very cardinal point, the vital principle of your measures, and the only cause of your success, that while you and your missionaries are actually labouring for God, your dependence, your hope, your joy is this, that the Lord worketh with you. The supplies of public liberality would be altogether misplaced, if entrusted to men who were not deeply impressed with this. If the treasures of an empire were at command, not an atom should be confided to that man in whose mind this truth was not uppermost and prominent. Missionaries abroad, and candidates for the work at home, directors and officers, preceptors and students, ministers and churches, contributors and collectors, friends, agents, well-wishers to the cause, all should carefully remember that, work as we may, we can do nothing except the Lord shall work with us. It is when this conviction is most powerfully felt, that the blessing is most earnestly craved; and therefore it may then be most believingly expected. In the hope of it, we rejoice when our brethren go forth in the name of the Lord, assured as we are that "the Spirit shall be poured out from on high, and the wilderness shall become a fruitful field." pp. 17—19.

The doctrine of Divine Influence has, in one shape or other, been so universally held, by heathen as well as by Christian men, that it might seem to be almost a tenet of natural religion, a principle of instinctive belief, or at least a manifest dictate of reason. To the gods, the heathens were accustomed to ascribe not only the outward bestowments of fortune, but those mental gifts and moral endowments which suppose a direct influence exerted on the soul; and the prayer of the suppliant, blind and unintelligent as it was, so far as regarded the object of worship, proceeded from the belief that such influence was exerted by the powers he sought to propitiate. Through all the modifications which the doctrine assumed as disguised by superstition,—in the *afflatus* of the tripod, the bacchanalian *furor*, or the frenzy of the nympholept, we still trace the same inherent principle, perverted and debased, which is the foundation of all religion—the belief that intercourse with the Divine nature is possible, and not merely possible, but that the minds of individuals have been brought under the influence of direct inspiration. To this source alone, the gift of prophecy was attributable; and those inventions which were ascribed to the gods, were no doubt viewed in the same light, as implying a supernatural wisdom. Thus, the doctrine

of Divine influence, as well as that of an over-ruling Providence or Fate, has seemed to be inseparable from a belief in the existence of Deity, and prayer has been the necessary consequence of this persuasion. Separate from it, indeed, prayer would be absolutely irrational. Modern philosophy, however, which, by dissipating so much of the obscurity that veiled the operations of nature, has contracted the range of supernatural causes, and almost destroyed the creed of imagination, would fain carry its tests and its analytical processes into matters of faith. Because it has demolished the imaginary world which fear or superstition peopled with shadows, it would reduce us to a disbelief of the unseen world, and explode the doctrine of supernatural agency as irrational. But it would be precisely as wise to argue from idolatry against the reasonableness of all religion, as to conclude that the instinctive faith of mankind in unseen things, is altogether delusive, because it has, in the absence of Revelation, attached itself to unreal objects.

Superstition was the blind exercise of the religious faculty, shaping to itself objects of terror and worship in the place of the True God and the true existences which inhabit the spiritual world. But it is so much more consonant to our fallen nature, to worship the work of our own hands, and to believe in the creatures of our own imaginings, than to exercise a pure faith in the existence of what we cannot imagine, that it has been found a much easier achievement to extinguish superstition, than to make men religious. To get rid of superstition is most desirable, but, unfortunately, the way in which this has been accomplished, has been, in too many cases, by extirpating, so far as possible, the principle to which superstition was indebted for its hold; and this has made us the firmer Protestants, but not altogether the better Christians. It might, we think, be safely affirmed of a very large proportion of Christian professors, (excluding entirely the decidedly irreligious from consideration,) that the existence and ministry of angels, is a fact which has as little practical hold on their minds, as the exploded superstitions which Popery founded on the doctrine, or as a belief in witches, fairies, and phantoms. The doctrine of Divine Influences cannot be put away in this manner from the mind of any sincere worshipper; but still, it is acquiesced in as a doctrine, referred to as a doctrine, insisted on in this point of view, as an important article of belief, rather than taken hold of by the feelings with that simplicity of assurance which would give it its proper influence on the character.

One thing which has tended to intercept between this car-

dinal truth and the moral character,—to deprive it of its proper influence, is the habit of connecting it with certain theological speculations relative to moral inability and other points remote from personal feeling. It is the remark of Stillingfleet, that ‘the seeking to reconcile the mysteries of our faith to philosophical dictates and unproved hypotheses, hath been that which hath almost destroyed it, and turned our religion into a mere philosophical speculation.’ The same may be said of the ceaseless efforts to reconcile the mysteries of faith to theological systems. We feel persuaded, that the controversies respecting the freedom of the will, the resistibility of Grace, the inability of men to believe, &c., have had the most prejudicial effect in diverting the mind from the practical to the speculative. Even ministers of the Gospel have appeared to shrink from the subject of Divine Influences, on account of its supposed implication in matters of doubtful disputation. We cannot otherwise account for the striking omission which we have often had occasion to notice in evangelical discourses, of any distinct reference to the topic. And then, discussions relating to the Personality of the Holy Spirit, placed at the threshold, as it were, of the subject, have tended, however necessary in themselves, to remove still further from direct contact with the feelings, the fact itself of Divine agency as the source of all spiritual life. What would be the effect of introducing the Scripture doctrine of Providence, with philosophical discussions relative to the existence of God?

Any person who is in the habit of attending to the operations of his mind, will, we think, admit, that the state of mind required by prayer, and that which is immediately produced by theological speculation, are almost the opposite of each other, so that an indulgence in such speculations is destructive of the spirit of prayer. For what is prayer, but the result of a belief which speculation would fain suspend while it examines the rationale of it? A belief in facts, of which speculation busies itself, and loses itself, in attempting to explore the inscrutable relations.

That the Holy Spirit has access to the human mind, that our thoughts and feelings are susceptible of the direct operation of Divine influence, and this without violence done to the moral nature, without any consciousness on the part of the individual, of an operation distinct from that of his own voluntary action,—is a fact capable of the highest proof. Its possibility might be demonstrated by abstract reasoning. The gift of prophecy is a sufficient historical attestation of the actual fact. To the real Christian, there is the additional proof supplied by Revelation and by experience. He can no more doubt that the

moral influence of truth on his own mind, in coincidence with the dictates of conscience, is attributable to the operation of the Father of Spirits, than that the vital action of his frame is sustained by the Divine power of Him who made it. Truth, though in every case the instrument, can in no instance be the adequate cause of any moral effect. This is clear, since otherwise its effect would be uniform, like that of any mechanical cause, under the same circumstances. The reason why the same truth does not operate with the same force at all times, must be, that it is not an efficient cause, but only an instrumental one. The efficient cause, the Christian well knows, lies not in himself: it must, therefore, be referrible to the Supreme Cause,—to Him “who worketh all in all.”

It is conceded, that truth, *when believed and entertained by the mind*, will produce its proper moral effect as a motive; but the belief and consideration of truth is precisely that *antecedent* effect, to the cause of which we are now adverting. It is not enough that truth should be exhibited to the mind, or that the mind should be capable of receiving and being affected by it: no consequence necessarily follows from this, analogous to what takes place as the result of mechanical impulse communicated to inert matter. Moral influence is an effect to which the mind itself, so to speak, must lend itself: there must be a concurrence of the spiritual principle with the means of influence, that is, truth, in order to such effect. And as this principle is so often dormant, there is required something more than the means, to call it into action. We are aware that we have expressed ourselves in a manner rather too metaphysical, but the illustration supplied by familiar facts, will make plain the truth of the proposition.

‘Millions,’ it is remarked in the Tract before us, ‘read the word of God with a professed belief of its contents, without receiving the slightest salutary influence from its lessons: a number perhaps equal, or still greater, hear the word preached, without seeming to think it at all necessary that they should be doers of the word as well as hearers.’

‘The reason of this is doubtless, that these persons have no life in them. They want a principle which no agency less than a divine, is capable of bestowing upon them. If the instrumentality of the written word, and of human teaching alone was sufficient, they would long since have been made alive unto righteousness. Before they can rise into life, a quickening power must descend upon them from above. To understand the full force of this assertion it must be recollected, that the natural state of man is that of death in trespasses and sins, without holiness, without grace, without the least spiritual feeling;—at the fall he received a shock which paralysed and numbed every limb, every nerve of the internal man, and left him a blasted withered form of humanity without so much as

a power to feel his misery. While he remains in this condition, the simple application of external means is incapable of imparting the least degree of salutary influence. The feelings of his nature may, indeed, in some measure, be wrought upon—as the fibres of once animated but now lifeless matter may be put in motion by the operations of Galvanism, but a sensation truly vital and spiritual it cannot awaken. He must be spiritually revived, before he can spiritually feel; he must be endued with a celestial principle which will act as a soul within a soul, before he can experience the emotions and perform the functions of a living being. And as the total failure of the outward machinery of religion, while unaccompanied by a quickening energy, proves the indispensable necessity of a Divine Power to render it effectual in any case, so those particular instances in which it is found successful, are equally illustrative of the same truth. It is the primary basis of all reasoning and philosophy, that similar causes produce similar effects—or, to exhibit the same idea in a modified and somewhat expanded form; that a similar agency, operating upon similar subjects, will result in the display of the same general phenomena. In the application of this principle to the point under consideration, we remark, that the agency generally employed consists of the various modes of instruction, by providential occurrences, by written records, and more especially by ministerial labours. The subjects to which this agency is directed, are human beings, all by nature equally corrupt, equally degraded, equally destitute of life and holiness. On a supposition of the identity or perfect similarity of the influence exerted, we must have inevitably expected an uniformity of result, either invariably successful, or invariably abortive. But the fact is totally otherwise. While the great majority of mankind remains untouched, unaffected, unrenewed; some discover no uncertain or equivocal symptoms of an almost entire transformation of character having been wrought in them. Assuming it as an allowed and established point, that all the individuals of the human species, are, by nature, equally tainted with the stain of pollution, and present equal impediments to the renovating operations of divine grace, the circumstance of some being awakened from their fatal slumbers, and of the rest continuing to sleep in perilous indifference upon the brink of everlasting ruin, seems capable of no other mode of explanation, than the supposition of an influence being made to operate upon the one class which does not reach to the other.

pp. 25—8.

There is such a thing as being familiar with a principle of mechanical philosophy, in its practical application, and yet not being able to understand it when technically stated as a principle of science. The same thing occurs in matters of religion. Every Christian, in the act of prayer, recognises the principle, that he stands in constant need of Divine influence, and is capable of receiving it. Every thinking man, who is not an infidel, will readily acknowledge, that wisdom and good-

ness are as much the gifts of God as riches and health. But wisdom and goodness can be communicated only by means of Divine influence on the mind. In asking wisdom of God, in imploring his guidance, above all, in supplicating his Holy Spirit, the believer acts on the inherent belief, that such Divine communications are continually afforded, and may confidently be anticipated in answer to prayer. It never interferes with this belief as a practical difficulty, that he is not able to distinguish such communications from the action of his own mind; any more than it shakes his belief in Divine Providence, to find things taking place in concurrence with his own exertions. There are physical influences of which he has no more distinct consciousness, than he has of any Divine influence on his mind. Nay, there is the moral influence of suasion, of example, of temptation, perpetually operating upon him, yet still as undistinguishable from the voluntary operations of thought, as influence of a supernatural kind; as there are chemical and mechanical processes constantly going forward throughout the animal system, of which we have no sensible intimation. It is not till a man begins to speculate on the *mode* of Divine influence, its bearing on the subject of human responsibility, and other metaphysical questions, that he feels any difficulty on the subject.

But when an attempt is made to analyse and discriminate the supposed various kinds of Divine influence,—as common or saving Grace, as resistible or irresistible, and so forth, what wonder is it that the mind gets bewildered, and that faith is lost in the mazes of doubtful speculation? Thus much we may safely assume of all moral influence, that its specific operation will vary according to the medium or instrument, and the subject of influence. Truth of some kind, or seeming truth, is the only conceivable means of influencing an intelligent agent. But there are some truths evidently adapted to act upon the conscience of the individual; other truths which tend more directly to operate on the affections; and their specific effect, therefore, will be different. In concurrence with such truths, a Divine influence also may be exerted on the conscience, and terminate there; or it may exert itself on the heart. As the dictates of conscience may be resisted, so, we should not err in saying, that the influence of the Spirit may be resisted, so far as the conscience alone is brought under its operation, and the truth received is of that nature which tends only to awaken the conscience. But truths affecting the heart cannot be received, by virtue of the gracious influence of God's Holy Spirit, without a correspondent moral effect. The affections, the will, are

the very subject of such influence; and at once to receive and to resist it, is impossible: it involves a contradiction.

But, stripped of all metaphysics, what is the fact? From the Spirit of God, 'all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works proceed.' And He "will give his holy Spirit to them who ask it." It is a fixed law of the Divine government, that this spiritual aid should *uniformly* be afforded in answer to prayer. The concurrence of the Divine agency with human effort and rational means, in the physical operations of nature,—the processes of nutrition, growth, and healing, is not more certain, or less mysterious, than that which is the source of life, and growth, and healing in the spiritual world. To make this fact an excuse for the neglect of means, is the grossest fanaticism: to overlook it, or explain it away, is atheism.

The tract before us, is designed to 'make a brief application of the doctrine to the circumstances of the present period.' We cordially recommend its perusal to our readers. Indistinct and erroneous notions on this subject have hitherto had too extensive an influence on the minds of Christians, paralysing their exertions, and repressing the spirit of prayer. This doctrine, properly viewed, is the strongest motive to exertion, the very element of spiritual might. The hope of the world rests upon the fact, in connexion with the promise, of Divine influence. That the moral world has not as yet been brought more generally under its quickening and fertilizing energy, notwithstanding the vast machinery put in action, and the Divine adaptation of the means,—is owing, in the first place, to the incalculable inaptitude of human beings, as depraved, to yield to any moral means; but, next to this, is attributable to nothing more than the weakness of faith and the languid half heartedness of our prayers.

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A Volume of Sermons, in 8vo, by the Rev. John Coates, A.M. late vicar of Huddersfield, and formerly fellow of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, is proposed to be published as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers are obtained.

On the 1st of January will appear, No. I. of a new Quarterly Review, to be entitled, the Westminster Review, and conducted on professedly independent and impartial principles.

Messrs. J. P. Neale and J. Le Keux will publish the First Number of their Views of Churches on the 1st of February next.

No. XIII. of Messrs. Woolnoth and Tomblason's Views of Ancient Castles in England and Wales will appear on the first of March next: they have just published No. XII. completing the first volume.

Sholto Percy, one of the Benedictine Brothers to whom the public are indebted for so much amusement in the shape of Anecdotes, has in preparation a series of original sketches of men and manners, under the title of Life's Progress, which are to be illustrated by engravings by Cruikshank. No. I. will appear early in the ensuing year.

Dr. Carey has issued proposals for publishing by subscription, Lexicon Analogico-Latinum, on the plan of Hoo-geveen's Greek Lexicon—with an Index Etymologicus nearly like that of Gesner.

Dr. Carey has just published Seneca's Tragedies, in continuation of the Regent's Pocket Classics.

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In the press, and will be published in a few days, in 1 thick vol. 24mo. embellished with a portrait of Addison, the spirit of the British Essayists, comprising the best papers on life, manners, and literature, contained in the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian, &c. the whole alphabetically arranged according to the subjects.

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A Volume of Sermons, in 8vo, by the Rev. John Coates, A.M. late vicar of Huddersfield, and formerly fellow of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, is proposed to be published as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers are obtained.

On the 1st of January will appear, No. I. of a new Quarterly Review, to be entitled, the Westminster Review, and conducted on professedly independent and impartial principles.

Messrs. J. P. Neale and J. Le Keux will publish the First Number of their Views of Churches on the 1st of February next.

No. XIII. of Messrs. Woolnoth and Tomblason's Views of Ancient Castles in England and Wales will appear on the first of March next: they have just published No. XII. completing the first volume.

Sholto Percy, one of the Benedictine Brothers to whom the public are indebted for so much amusement in the shape of Anecdotes, has in preparation a series of original sketches of men and manners, under the title of Life's Progress, which are to be illustrated by engravings by Cruikshank. No. I. will appear early in the ensuing year.

Dr. Carey has issued proposals for publishing by subscription, Lexicon Analogico-Latinum, on the plan of Hoo-geveen's Greek Lexicon—with an Index Etymologicus nearly like that of Gesner.

Dr. Carey has just published Seneca's Tragedies, in continuation of the Regent's Pocket Classics.

ART. XI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie, LL.D. By Sir Wm. Forbes, Bart. A new edition. In 2 vols. 8vo. portrait, 1l. 1s.

A Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Jules Charles Rieu, Pastor of the Reformed Church, Fredericia, in Denmark: with practical remarks and illustrations, and a large introduction, containing an account of that colony, and anecdotes of some of the most eminent protestant ministers on the continent. In one vol. 18mo. with an engraving. Price 1s. 6d.

FINE ARTS.

Three Panoramic Views of Port Jackson, New South Wales, with the Town of Sydney and the adjacent scenery. Engraved by Havell, from Drawings by Major Taylor of the 48th Regiment. Price 1l. 1s. each coloured, to imitate the original Drawings.

HISTORY.

A New and greatly improved Edition of Dr. Brown's History of Missions. In two thick volumes, 8vo. 1l. 6s.

*** In consequence of the large mass of new materials which the Author has obtained, some parts of the work having been almost entirely written over again: in other parts, the omissions on the one hand, and the additions on the other, have been so extensive, that it may in a considerable degree be viewed as a new work; it is brought down to the latest dates, and is illustrated with Maps of the Principal Missionary Stations.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Observations on the Antichristian Tendency of Modern Education, and on the Practicability and Means of its Improvement. By John Campbell, Esq. of Carbrook, F.R.S.E. 12mo. 2s. 6d. bds.

The Calcutta Annual Register. Vol. I. for the year 1821. 8vo. 1l. 1s. (Just imported.)

POLITICAL.

Statement in regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, from the experience of the last eight years. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. 8vo. 2s.

THEOLOGY.

Sermons Preached in St. John's Church, Glasgow. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Sacred Dissertations on the Apostles' Creed. By Herman Witsius, D.D. Translated from the Latin, and followed with notes, critical and explanatory. By Donald Frazer, Minister of the Gospel, Kennoway. In two thick volumes, 8vo. 1l. 2s.

Private Thoughts on Religion. By the Rev. Thomas Adam. With an introductory essay, by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, A.M. Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London. 12mo. 3s.

A Treatise on Religious Fasting, being an attempt to examine the Authority, explain the Nature, consider the Design, and recommend the Observance of that Duty. With notes, and illustrations. By E. B. Lloyd. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

Sermons. By the late Rev. S. Lavington of Bideford. 8vo. Vol. III. 10s. 6d.

Mental Discipline; or Hints on the cultivation of intellectual and moral habits, addressed to students in theology and young ministers. By Henry Forster Burder, M.A. Part III. 8vo. 4s. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

Hymns on Various Passages of Scripture. By Thomas Kelly. Fifth Edition. With many new Hymns. 24mo. 4s.

The Memory of the Just. A Sermon on occasion of the Death of Edward Powell, Esq. By John Morison. With a Poem to the Memory of the Deceased, by Josiah Conder. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

The Christian Philosopher: or the Connexion of Science with Religion. By Thomas Dick. 12mo. 7s.